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THE IMPERIAL CULT UNDER THE FLAVIANS

KENNETH SCOTT

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THE IMPERIAL CULT UNDER THE FLAVIANS

BY KENNETH SCOTT

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TO MY FATHER AND MOTHER

PREFACE

Since the publication of Abbé Beurlier's *Le Culte Impérial* in 1891 our knowledge of the ruler cult has been increased by the discovery of new evidence and by the investigations of numerous scholars. In recent years a notable contribution was made by Taylor's *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor,* which shows the beginnings of the Roman Imperial Cult. Miss Taylor's book, however, does not extend in scope beyond Augustus. It has been the purpose of this study to give a picture of the development of the imperial cult at a later period and under an entire dynasty, that of the Flavians.

It appears that much of the cult of the Flavian family was the result of shameless flattery or was dictated by political motives. This worship of the Flavians has, however, left a deep impress upon the literature and art of the day, while many of its forms hark back to beliefs and conceptions centuries old. An understanding of the history of the Flavian period is impossible without some regard for the imperial cult, and it is my hope that this book will be of service to the more general historian and student of literature and art as well as to the specialist in Roman religion.

I take this occasion to express my warmest thanks to the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation for the grant which made possible this work; to the American Academy in Rome, its director Mr. James Hewlett, and its library staff for facilities most hospitably granted; to Professor M. I. Rostovtzeff and Dr. Aline Abaecherli for advice on certain problems; to Mr. William Avery who has prepared the index; to Professor Andreas Alföldi, and my colleague, Professor R. S. Rogers, who have read the manuscript of this book and given invaluable criticism; and especially to Professor Otto Weinreich, who has read the book both in manuscript and proof and made numerous helpful suggestions.

Cleveland, Ohio. Kenneth Scott.

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CHAPTER I

VESPASIAN'S *AUCTORITAS ET MAIESTAS*

The reign of Nero, the last of the Julio-Claudian emperors, was marked by extreme *adulatio,* by many superhuman honors for the ruler, particularly by the use of the radiate crown on the coinage.[1] Nero had followed to a great extent the policy of the Hellenistic kings in setting himself up as a diviner ruler, quite as Caligula had done before him, and in spite of the damnation of his memory such an innovation as the radiate crown continued after him. His death marked the end of a great dynasty, and the civil strife of 69 was not a contest to secure the restoration of the republic but only to see which commander would be raised to the imperial dignity by his army. It was certainly clear that the successful candidate would himself found a new line of rulers, for only thus could Rome be spared civil war at the end of each reign. In turn, Galba, Otho, and Vitellius held for a fleeting moment the reins of power, but for so short a time that they could not develop a religious policy. Finally Fortune elevated to the throne the general of the Syrian army, T. Flavius Vespasianus, and we may consider him the real successor of the Julio-Claudians.

It must be remembered that Vespasian, unlike the Julii, could not claim descent from the gods and Roman kings, for the Flavian family from the town of Reate in the Sabine country was "obscure and without any ancestral portraits."[2] He had himself been forced to mortgage his estates to his brother and also engage in trading

1) Cf. Herzog-Hauser, art. „Kaiserkult", *RE.*, Supplementbd. IV (1924), 835-836; Schumann, *Hellenistische und griechische Elemente in der Regierung Neros* (1930), esp. pp. 21-34; McGannon, *Emperor Worship under Nero*, Diss. Western Reserve U. (1931), 97 pp. (typewritten).

2) Suet. *Vesp.* 1; Suetonius also informs us that Vespasian's grandfather served in the army of Pompey at Pharsalus, was later pardoned, and made a living collecting money from auctions; his father was a *publicanus* in Asia, and later a money lender in Switzerland. Cf. Weynand, „Flavius", *RE.*, VI, 2626—2627.

in mules,[1] evidently as a result of a costly official career. It was, indeed, Vespasian's very lack of family distinction which led Nero to appoint him to the command of the Syrian army in order to put down the serious Jewish revolt. The task called for a man of energy, yet one to whom so great a responsibility might safely be entrusted. Vespasian was chosen, we are told, on account of his ability and as one who, because of the obscurity of his family and name, was in no wise to be feared.[2] He was hard-headed and sensible, and after his elevation to the purple never tried to conceal his former obscurity but even frequently boasted of it, while he ridiculed attempts which were made to trace his ancestry back to the founders of Reate and a companion of Hercules.[3] This very effort to create for him an ancient and honorable lineage shows that to some, at least, such a family tree seemed requisite for an emperor. The want of it was doubtless a handicap, and certainly Vespasian was without the ancestry to which Nero could point, not to mention a line of *Divi* with their legitimizing force. By nature Vespasian was clearly averse to the pomp and flattery of the ruler cult, and circumstances forbade his ever claiming divine descent. Still, he must have realized that he lacked a certain majesty which might prove very useful to him. He was not one to balk at anything practical, and our evidence indicates that he complacently allowed himself to be given in the East a certain cloak of sanctity and divine authority, while abstaining from any such pretence in Rome, where his humble origin would have accentuated and made offensive any claim to superhuman powers or to divinity. In short, Vespasian adopts on the whole the policy of Augustus: at home he is *civilis,* a man; in the provinces he received, and apparently made no attempt to check, divine honors; and at the beginning of his reign, at least, he evidently encouraged the creation of a belief that he was divinely appointed to rule the world and even gifted with heavenly powers such as were thought to be vouchsafed to monarchs.

About Vespasian, as about Augustus, there is found in ancient writers a quantity of oracles, omens, and portents which indicated his rise to the imperial dignity, or were, at any rate, so interpreted. It is likely that many of them were circulated after his troops had

1) Suet., *Vesp.* 4.
2) Suet., *Vesp.* 4, 5.
3) *Ibid.*, 12.

proclaimed him emperor, and, in any event, they were probably all in people's mouths by 69 or 70, the time when the new ruler's fortune would seen most startling and, too, when his cause might be furthered by a belief that he was called to power by divine will. While Galba was yet alive Titus set out for Rome, and it was rumored that he was to be adopted by the childless emperor. This rumor was strengthened, Tacitus remarks, by Titus' nature, which was equal to any fortune, his beauty combined with a certain majesty, the prosperous affairs of Vespasian, prophetic oracles *(praesaga responsa)*, and chance happenings *(fortuita)* which in the minds of people ready to belief were regarded as omens *(inclinatis ad credendum animis loco ominum)*.[1]

Tacitus, a contemporary, was convinced of the existence of divine manifestations of future greatness for the Flavians, for he writes, "The secrets of Fate and the fact that the throne was predestined for Vespasian and his children by signs and oracles, *(ostentis ac responsis)* we believed after his success."[2] Again, when his men urged him to make a bid for the throne, they brought up the replies of the soothsayers and movement of the stars, "and Vespasian recalled old omens."[3] Josephus refers to the signs (σημεῖα) of his call to empire,[4] "signs which were many and had everywhere foreshadowed his ascension to the throne."[5] Suetonius tells how during the struggle between Otho and Vitellius, *ostenta* led Vespasian to hope for the *imperium*,[6] and Dio quite as explicitly states that portents and dreams (σημεῖα καὶ ὄνειροι) had long beforehand pointed to his sovereignty.[7] These signs frequently are such as indicate Vespasian's possession of *numen*, of a divine power which is felt by animals[8] and even inanimate objects. Thus, when he once was dining, a stray dog

1) Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 1. The same author would have us believe that the people at Rome were at this time highly superstitious, for he characterizes them as "civitatem cuncta interpretantem". (*Hist.*, ii, 91.)

2) *Hist.*, i, 10.

3) *Hist.*, ii, 78.

4) *B. I.*, i, 23.

5) *B. I.* iv, 623; cf. iii, 404 for the mention of σημεῖα which foreshadowed the throne for Vespasian.

6) *Vesp.*, 5.

7) lxiv, 9, 1, and lxv, i, 2, (σημεῖα καὶ ὀνείρατα).

8) Cf. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial*, (1928) for an admirable treatment of this phase of the ruler cult.

brought in a human hand from the cross roads and dropped it beneath his table.[1] The hand, a sign of power, was to indicate sovereignty, while the dog is conscious of the divine *numen* of the future emperor. A similar story is told of an ox on his country estate. It shook off its yoke as it was plowing, burst into the dining room where Vespasian was at table, scattered his servants, and then, as if weary, knelt down, and bowing its neck placed its head beneath his feet.[2] The ox, as Krauss has pointed out, symbolized the state shaking off the yoke of the tyrant and submitting to a more considerate master.[3]

In the case of the emperor Augustus, who, as we shall see, served as a model for Vespasian, a tree more than once was considered a fetish for the life of the prince and even of his dynasty.[4] Nor was such a fetish tree wanting in the case of the Flavians: on the farm of Vespasian's grandfather an unusually tall cypress tree suddenly was uprooted without the violence of a storm,[5] but miraculously rose again the next day in the same place and was greener, taller, and sturdier than before.[6] This was in the opinion of all the soothsayers a great and favorable omen which promised the greatest fame to Vespasian who was still a young man.[7] Its second fall marked the death of Domitian, last of the line.[8] Another tree of the same prophetic character was an ancient oak, sacred to Mars, which grew on a suburban estate of the Flavians. Upon the birth of each of Vespasian's children it put forth a branch that signified the child's future: the first was slender and soon withered,

1) Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, 4, and Dio, lxv, 1, 2.

2) Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, 4, and Dio, lxv, i, 2. Again there is a sign of submission to the future ruler's *numen*.

3) *An interpretation of the omens, portents and prodigies, recorded by Livy, Tacitus, and Suetonius* (1930), p. 173. Virgil's *Messianic Eclogue* (IV, 41: *robustus quoque iam tauris iuga solvet arator)* makes the freeing of oxen from the yoke a symbol of the golden age of world wide peace and prosperity, and the same idea is manifested in Probus' dream of world peace (Flavius Vopiscus, *Vita Probi*, 20).

4) Cf. Deonna, "La Légende d'Octave-Auguste", *Rev. de l'histoire des religions*, xxxiv (1921), pp. 94—95.

5) Dio lxv, 1, 3, says that the tree was overthrown by the wind.

6) Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 78 and Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, 4.

7) Tac., *Hist.* ii, 78.

8) Suet., *Dom.*, 15, 2. On the interpretation, cf. Pliny, *N. H.*, xvi, 132 and Krauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 135 ff.

as did the girl who died within less than a year; the second was strong and long and portended great good fortune, but the third was like the tree. Sabinus, the husband of Vespasia, was encouraged by this and by the inspection of the victims, and told his mother that a grandson who would be Caesar had been born to her.[1] Another omen of long standing was found in the following incident: Vespasian, as aedile, was remiss in having the steets cleaned, and thereby angered the reigning emperor Caligula, who ordered the soldiers to cover him with mud. They promptly heaped it into the bosom of Vespasian's toga, an act which was interpreted as signifying that his country, downtrodden by civil war, would come to his protection and embrace.[2] The story is not unlike that told of Julius Caesar: when he was disembarking in Africa, he stumbled and fell, but made the omen a good one by crying: "*Teneo te, Africa.*"[3]

Dreams are credited with foreshadowing Vespasian's greatness: Once in Greece he dreamed that the beginning of *felicitas* for himself and his family would come as soon as Nero should have a tooth pulled. On the next day a physician showed him a tooth which he had just removed for Nero.[4] *Praesagia* also were reported to him from the West. Among them was the report that "Nero in his last days had been warned in his sleep to take the *tensa* of Jupiter Optimus Maximus from the shrine to Vespasian's home and thence to the Circus."[5] Krauss gives the following interpretation: "Since the *tensa* was a vehicle used for transporting the images of the gods to the games in the Circus, this vision signified that Vespasian was the best *auriga*, or charioteer, of that sacred car, or, in other words, that Jupiter had consigned the highest position in the state to him."[6] It is said that in the year 69 the statue of the deified Julius on the Tiber island turned about on a calm,

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1) Suet. *Vesp.* 5, 2. The parallel of both trees with the laurel tree of the Julio-Claudians is striking. (Cf. Suet., *Galba*, 1.)

2) Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, 3, and Dio, lix, 12.

3) Suet., *Julius*, 59.

4) Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, 5; Dio, lxv, 1, 3, gives the same story, but says that Vespasian dreamed he would be emperor when Nero lost a tooth.

5) Suet, *Vesp.*, 5, 6, Cf. Dio (lxv, 1, 3) who says that Nero dreamed that he took the car to Vespasian's home.

6) *Op. cit.*, pp. 152—153.

quiet day, and faced from the West to the East.[1] It portended, of course, that the new ruler who would succeed to the Julian line was to come from the East.

Several occurrences are recorded which might well have served the party of Vespasian. The appearance of two suns, one weak and pale in the West, and the other in the East brilliant and strong,[2] apparently foreshadowed the fall of Vitellius and the rise of Vespasian, who was in the East. Dio also gives an account of how one night the temple of Jupiter on the Capitol opened itself with a great noise which so terrified some of the soldiers sleeping there that they fainted. The next day many great footsteps were seen as of spirits which had descended from the Capitol.[3] It seems likely that this story was interpreted as signifying the departure of the Capitoline triad who were deserting the doomed Vitellius to join Vespasian, for this phenomenon and interpretation find many parallels in the past and in the same period.[4] It was doubtless a story intended to shake the confidence of the superstitious in the ranks of the enemy, as well as to encourage one's own followers. Part of the same rumor is the *prodigium* given by Tacitus to the effect that a superhuman form had rushed forth from the cella of Juno on the Capitol.[5] Tacitus reported for the year 69 various other portents: an ox spoke in Etruria; animals had unusual offspring;[6] the Victory in the chariot in the vestibule of the Capitol

1) Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, 6, says that this happened when Galba was on his way to the elections at which he secured his second counsulship. The prodigy is the same recounted by Tacitus, *Hist.*, i, 86, for I do not agree with Krauss (*op. cit.*, pp. 177—178), who apparently thinks that the phenomenon occurred twice in this year.

2) Dio, lxiv, 8, 1.

3) Dio, lxiv, 8, 2.

4) Antony was deserted by Dionysus (Cf. Scott, Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's *De Sua Ebrietate, C. P.*, xxiv (1929), pp. 133—141, Minerva abandoned Domitian (Ch. XIV p. 16), and Jehovah departed from the Jews (Ch. XIV p. 15). On the opening of the doors, cf. the admirable study by Weinreich, „Gebet und Wunder", *Tübinger Beiträge*, v (1929), pp. 200—452 and especially pp. 264 and 277—279. Weinreich (p. 264) calls attention to the existence of related examples of the effect upon those who saw or heard such marvels.

5) *Hist.*, i, 86. It is here related as if occuring while Otho was still emperor. In any event, it was probably part of the prodigy recounted by Dio, and the story is in keeping with similar pro-Flavian propaganda.

6) Cf. Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 119.

lost her reins; the Tiber overflowed its banks.[1] These are all omens of dire and alarming nature, but apparently with no direct reference to Vespasian. The same may be said of the appearance of a comet,[2] which usually indicated the death of a ruler, and two eclipses of the moon[3] which perhaps foreshadowed the downfall in rapid succession of the two usurpers, Otho and Vitellius.

Our evidence indicates that Vespasian was himself interested in the practical value of rumors that the gods were on his side, and certainly his partisans made the most of this type of propaganda, which in itself must have been copious and widely diffused.[4] We have it on the best of authority that his ascension to the imperial throne had been prophesied. The historian Josephus, as he tells us himself, when taken captive by the Romans prophesied to Vespasian that the Julio-Claudian dynasty would not continue, but that Vespasian and Titus would attain to the throne; he also added, in terms which suggest the adulation of the Hellenistic ruler cult, "You, Caesar, are master (δεσπότης) not only of me but also of the earth and sea and all the human race."[5] Titus, too, had received an oracle at the temple of Aphrodite of Paphos which encouraged him to hope for the throne.[6] Another prophecy which did not point directly to Vespasian must, nevertheless, have been of service

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1) Tac., *loc. cit.*

2) Dio, lxiv, 8, 1.

3) *Ibid.*, lxiv, 8, 1.

4) R. Lattimore, "Portents and Prophecies in connection with the Emperor Vespasian", *C. J.*, xxix (1934), pp. 441—449, notes the great number of prophecies and portents relating to Vespasian and correctly (pp. 447-448) calls attention to the fact that "the Roman soldier was subject to a nervous emotionalism bordering at times on hysteria" and to Tacitus' implication that "the *ambages* concerning Vespasian had a strong influence on the army at the time when he was contemplating war." He apparently, however, does not give much consideration to the part played by propaganda in time of civil conflict, both in 79 and, for example, in the period of 44—30 (Cf. Charlesworth, "Some fragments of the Propaganda of Mark Antony", *C. Q.* xxvii (1933), pp. 172—177, and Scott, "Political Propaganda of 44—30 B. C.", *Mem. Am. Acad. Rome,* xi (1933), pp. 7—49.

5) *Bellum Iud.*, iii, 401—402; cf. *ibid.*, iv, 623, where Josephus again refers to the omens which foreshadow Vespasian's ascension to the throne and his having addressed Vespasian as emperor while Nero yet lived. Cf. also Dio, lxv, 1, 4 and Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, 6.

6) Suet., *Titus*, 5, 1. He had been sent by Vespasian to congratulate Galba

to his cause, at least after he was proclaimed emperor. It was the Messianic prediction that at some time a man from Judea would rule the world.[1] This was taken by the Jews to concern one of their own race, but events doubtless convinced many of them, as was the case with Josephus,[2] that Vespasian was the one to whom sovereignty was foretold, and such a conviction would certainly go far towards inducing them and others who heard of the oracle to resign themselves to Vespasian's rule.

The oracles, indeed, seem to have been trying to win favor with Vespasian and counting on his making a bid for power, or there may have been manipulation of them by Mucianus. At any rate, evidently a short time before he was proclaimed emperor by his soldiers,[3] Vespasian sought an oracle from the god at Mt. Carmel between Judea and Syria. The priest, named Basilides, consulted the victim's vitals as Vespasian was sacrificing and made this prophecy: "Whatever you are planning, Vespasian, whether to build a house or extend your fields or increase the number of your slaves, to you is granted a great abode, hugh territories, and a multitude of men."[4] This oracle, we are told, became the subject of rumor, and people were trying to interpret it at the time when he was proclaimed emperor by the troops. In fact, Tacitus writes: "Nothing was more in the mouths of men. Discussion of it was more frequent in Vespasian's presence, inasmuch as more things are said to those who have hopes."[5] Moreover, when Mucianus had urged Vespasian to a bid for empire, Vespasian's officers recalled to their general the *responsa vatum* and *siderum motus* in an attempt to encourage him.[6]

Apparently signs of divine approbation had been useful in winning soldiers to a belief in Vespasian's destiny, and the utility was so well realized that further omens were produced. Vespasian had neither birth nor wealth to recommend him, but if a belief in his

1) Tac., *Hist.*, v, 13; Suet. *Vesp.*, 4, 5; Josephus, *B. I.*, vi, 312—313.

2) *B. I.*, vi, 313; cf. Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (1927), p. 365, n. 5.

3) Cf. Weynand, art. Flavius (206) *RE.*, VI (1909), 2634.

4) Tac., *Hist.*, ii, 78; cf. Suet., *Vesp.*, 5, 6, who says the lots promised that whatever Vespasian planned or desired, however great, would come to pass. Cf. Scott, "The Rôle of Basilides in the Events of A. D. 69", *J. R. S.* XXIV (1934), pp. 138—140.

5) *Hist.*, ii, 78.

6) *Ibid.*, ii, 78.

high destiny could become general, his path would be made much smoother. When he was persuaded by Mucianus, he sent news to this effect to the Roman commander in Egypt, Ti. Alexander, who declared for Vespasian, July 1, 69.[1] As it was highly important to secure Egypt with its stores of grain which were necessary for the food supply of Rome, Vespasian proceeded to Alexandria, where he probably was in December, 69.[2] Egypt, moreover, was the scene of further *miracula* which can only have served the interests of the new regime. Prestige was at this time much to be desired. As Suetonius remarks (*Vesp.*, 7, 2), "The prince lacked authority (*auctoritas)* and a kind of majesty *(maiestas),* since he was indeed unexpectedly and newly called to the throne; but these, too, fell to his lot." Upon his entry into Alexandria the Nile in a single day rose a palm above its wonted level and overflowed, an occurrence which was said to have taken place only once before.[3] As Weber has pointed out, the rapid rise of the river at this period was most unusual.[4] A flood might, under normal circumstances be an alarming portent, but in Egypt, where the rise of the Nile and the overflow brought fertility to the land, it would naturally be considered a blessing and of good omen. This sign undoubtedly was taken to indicate that Vespasian had become one of the gods of Egypt and was to be classed with such deities as Asclepios who caused the Nile to rise and bring fertility to the land; the river felt the *numen* of the new monarch.[5] This phenomenon must have been fortuitous, but the other strange happenings seem to have been engineered by mortals, and not by the gods.

The priests of the popular Alexandrian god, Serapis, either voluntarily sought to enhance the emperor's repute and acquire his favor, or else they were induced to further the propaganda of which we have seen so much evidence both in Italy and in the East. Tacitus (*Hist.,* iv, 81) gives the following detailed account of the events which revealed Vespasian in the light of a thaumaturgic

1) Weynand, art. "Flavius", *RE.* VI, 2635.

2) Weber, *Josephus und Vespasian* (1921), pp. 250—258, is almost certainly correct in dating in the winter of 69/70 in the early part of Vespasian's reign the *miracula* which occurred when he was present in Alexandria.

3) Dio, lxv, 8, 1.

4) *Op. cit.,* p. 255, n. 2.

5) Cf. Weinreich, „Zur hellenistisch-ägyptischen Religionsgeschichte", *Ägyptus,* xi (1931), pp. 15—17.

monarch: "in the months during which Vespasian was awaiting at Alexandria the established season of the summer winds and a settled sea,[1] many miracles took place, by which the favor of heaven and a certain predisposition of the deities towards Vespasian *(caelestis favor et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum)* were revealed. One of the people of Alexandria who was well-known because of a wasting disease of the eyes threw himself at Vespasian's knees; with groans he asked for a remedy for his blindness, having been thus advised by the god Serapis, whom the race, given over to superstitions, worships before all others; he begged the prince to deign to besprinkle his cheeks and eyes with his spittle. Another man, whose hand was affected, at the admonition of the same deity besought Caesar to step and tread on it. At first Vespasian made sport of them and scorned them; but when the men persisted, he at one moment feared the infamy of a failure, and at another moment was led to hope by the prayers of the two men and the words of his flatterers; at length he gave orders for the doctors to express their opinion as to whether such blindness and weakness could be overcome by human help. The doctors gave different pronouncements on each case; they reported that the power of vision had not been eaten out in the case of the blind man, and that it would return if the obstacles should be removed; the joints of the other man had slipped out of place and could be restored if a healing force should be applied. They added that perhaps this was what the gods desired, and that the *princeps* had been chosen for the divine ministration; at any rate, the glory, if a cure was effected, would be Caesar's, while the ridicule of a failure would rest with the unhappy individuals. So Vespasian, believing that all things lay open to his fortune and that nothing further was beyond belief, with joyous countenance and amidst the intent crowd that was present, did as he had been bidden. At once the hand was restored to use, and the light of day shone once more for the blind man. Both cures are told by people who were present, now also after there is no reward for falsehood."[2] It seems almost certain that these wonders were the work of the priests of

1) Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 256, is probably correct in assigning all the miracles to the winter of 69/70, soon after Vespasian's entry into Alexandria.

2) Cf. Suet., *Vesp.*, vii, 2, who states that a blind and lame man were healed. Dio, lxv, 8, 1—2, writes that "heaven by these means was thus granting him

Serapis, who wished to gain credit for the cult,[1] but it is also likely that they were prompted by some of Vespasian's adherents, with or without the knowledge of the emperor himself.

Perhaps Basilides, who had furthered Vespasian's cause at Carmel, was engaged in religious propaganda in the emperor's behalf.[2] At any rate, he or his image again plays a part, this time at Alexandria. According to Tacitus, the healing wonders accomplished upon the advice of Serapis aroused in Vespasian a desire to consult the god concerning the destinies of empire.[3] "He ordered everyone," writes Tacitus (*Hist.*, iv, 82), "to be kept out of the temple. Then, when he had entered and was gazing upon the god, he beheld behind his back one of the leading Egyptians, Basilides by name, who was, he knew, ill and detained many days' journey from Alexandria. He enquired of the priests whether Basilides had entered the temple that day and questioned the passersby as to whether Basilides had been seen in the city; finally he dispatched cavalry and found out that at the moment he had been eighty miles away. Then he interpreted the divine vision and significance of the response from the name Basilides."[4] It is to be noted that Vespasian was acquainted with Basilides, was familiar with the fact that he was ill, and knew where to send the cavalry to find him. It seems

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sanctity (ἐσέμνυνεν)," that *maiestas* and *auctoritas* which Suetonius says that Vespasian lacked. For other somewhat similar cases of healings by rulers, cf. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges* (1924), p. 63, n. 2.

1) Cf. Dieterich, "Griechische und römische Religion", *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* viii (1905), p. 500, n. 1; Weinreich, *Antike Heilungswunder* (1909), p. 66, n. 2; Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 257; Bloch, *op. cit.* p. 63, who holds the opinion that the priests fabricated these "miracles," also calls attention to the political value of the ruler cult in this connection.

2) It is possible that Mucianus had pressed him into service in such capacity, and it is by no means unthinkable that Vespasian himself may have been cognizant of the whole proceeding, as his attitude in regard to the oracles and miracles would suggest. Cf. my article cited above in note 4 on p. 8.

3) Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 7, 1, apparently places the visit to the temple before the healing miracles. He adds details not in Tacitus' account: that Vespasian made many propitiary offerings to the god; that Basilides was a freedman, and offered him sacred boughs, garlands, and loaves; that Basilides could scarcely walk because of a *nervorum valitudo;* that news of the rout of the Vitellians at Cremona and the death of Vitellius came at once.

4) Basilides, meaning "king's son" is evidently taken to portend imperial sway.

not unreasonable to suppose that they had been journeying to Alexandria together, and that Basilides had been detained by his illness. It is most important, too, that Basilides, whether in flesh and blood or in a vision, appears as a *sacerdos* offering Vespasian articles pertaining to sacrifice. And Vespasian is not surprised at the rôle of Basilides, but only by his presence when he was thought to be far away.

Bearing these points in mind, let us consider for a moment the Basilides who was present when Vespasian sacrificed at the oracle of the god of Carmel and who as *sacerdos* examined the *exta*. It is by no means implied in Tacitus' account that this Basilides was a priest who always served the altar of the god of Carmel, for there was, for example, no reason why a *sacerdos* from Egypt might not have assisted Vespasian at Carmel in his sacrifice. And such, I believe, was the case. There is, moreover, a good explanation, conjectural to be sure, why "one of the most prominent Egyptians", a priest, a former procurator of Egypt,[1] should be present at this moment at Carmel. Ti. Julius Alexander, prefect of Egypt, who was the first to declare for Vespasian, had been in consultation with Mucianus about proclaiming Vespasian emperor.[2] It was apparently just after the oracle at Carmel that Mucianus, collaborating with the prefect of Egypt, induced Vespasian to seek the throne.[3] Surely Ti. Julius Alexander must have sent a representative to the vitally important meeting at Carmel between Mucianus and Vespasian Was not this representative Basilides, *sacerdos,* former *procurator,* and "one of the leading Egyptians?" His favorable interpretation of the *exta* would, then, be in keeping with the plans of the Egyptian prefect and Mucianus. From Palestine it would have been natural for Basilides to accompany Vespasian to Alexandria. On the way he may have been detained by a real or pretended attack

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1) An edict of the prefect of Egypt, Cn. Vergilius Capito, inscribed upon the first pylon of the great temple in the town of Girgeh and dated in the year 49 A. D., mentions as a person of official importance a certain *libertus* named Βασιλείδης (*C I Gr.* 4956 = Ditt., *Or. Gr.*, 665), probably a *procurator* (v. Rohden, art. "Basileides" in *RE.*, iii, 45) and identical with the Basilides of Vespasian's vision in the temple of Serapis (A. Stein, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani,* Pars I [1933], p. 355, no. 61).

2) Tac. *Hist.*, ii, 74 and *Prosopographia Imperii Romani,* II, p. 165.

3) G. Weynand, art. "Flavius", *RE.*, 12 Halbbd. (1909), 2634.

of rheumatism, not unlikely at his age if he had been a procurator in Egypt twenty years before.

Did Vespasian in the temple of Serapis see Basilides in flesh and blood, or only a vision? This one cannot say. But it does seem that someone — and who more likely than Basilides? — was working with the priests of Serapis to provide for Vespasian the *caelestis favor et quaedam in Vespasianum inclinatio numinum* (Tac. *Hist.*, iv, 81), the *auctoritas et maiestas* (Suet., *Vesp.*, 7, 2) which he lacked.

At the time of the miracles in Alexandria, if we are to believe Suetonius, the Greeks were doing their part, too, in building up the prestige of Vespasian: at the instruction of some soothsayers excavations were conducted in a consecrated spot at Tegea in Arcadia, and vases of ancient workmanship with an image very like to Vespasian on them were discovered.[1] The antiquity of the objects, whether genuine or false, would lend an air of divine sanctity to the portent, which here marked out Vespasian as a "man of destiny."[2]

While Vespasian was in Egypt he received news of the victory of his party in Italy. There, too, portents occurred which portended disaster to Vitellius and pointed in some cases to triumph on the part of Vespasian. These signs may, indeed, be ascribed to the same religious propaganda of which there is so much evidence in many parts of the empire in the troubled years 69—70, just as had been the case before in the time of the civil wars which lasted from the death of Caesar in 44 B. C. to the taking of Egypt in 30 B. C.

"On the field of Betriacum," writes Suetonius, "before the battle was begun, two eagles fought in the presence of all, and, when one had conquered, a third came from the direction of the rising sun and drove away the victor."[3] The contest of eagles foreshadowing the outcome of a battle, and here indeed of the civil war, is paralleled by a somewhat similar struggle between two eagles at Philippi.[4] The omen points most clearly to Vespasian, and looks like a *post eventum* fabrication for purposes of propaganda.

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1) Suet., *Vesp.*, 7, 3.

2) Cf. Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 168; he also mentions other somewhat similar portents, p. 166 ff. 3) *Vesp.*, 5, 6.

4) Plutarch, *Brutus*, 48, 2; cf. Krauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 100—101, n. 18.

Other omens of disaster for Vitellius are probably the work of the propaganda of Vespasian's agents or supporters. Thus, when Vitellius was addressing his soldiers, such a flock of vultures flew above his head that they obscured the light of day with a dark cloud.[1] According to Dio, the address had been preceded by a sacrifice, and the vultures swooped down, scattered the offerings, and nearly knocked Vitellius from the rostrum.[2] Evidently the story grew and changed with the telling, while the adherents of Vespasian apparently intended that the portent should leave no doubt as to the disaster impending for Vitellius. Very likely another version of the disturbing of the sacrifices is found in Tacitus' statement, given immediately after his story of the vultures, that a bull fled from the altar after scattering the materials for the sacrifice (as in Dio's account of the vultures!) and was killed at a long distance from the altar and in an unusual manner.[3]

Somewhat later, when the force of Vitellius under Primus and that of Vespasian under Alienus met in conflict near Cremona, omens from the gods, so it was reported, forboded disaster: an eclipse of the moon occurred and appeared bloody, black, and other dreadful colors. As Dio[4] reports these portents, they are represented as concerning the men of Vitellius, who, nevertheless, fought stubbornly even through the night. Then a new portent — it would seem — occurred: as the sun was rising, the men of the III legion, called the "Gallic," which wintered in Syria and then happened to be on the side of Vespasian, greeted it suddenly as was their custom.[5] The outcry made the troops of Vitellius think that Mucianus had arrived, and they fled. The commander from the direction of the rising sun had finally won.

With the downfall and death of Vitellius there still remained warfare in Judea, and Titus was in charge of the Roman forces. Here again, the supernatural is used to shake the spirit of the foe and impress the partisans of the Romans. Josephus, at least, was influenced by portents of the downfall of Jerusalem, for he writes that his countrymen "neither heeded nor believed in the portents

1) Tac. *Hist.*, iii, 56.
2) lxiv, 16, 1.
3) *Hist.*, iii, 56.
4) lxiv, 11, 1—2.
5) Dio, lxiv, 14, 3.

which were clear and foreshadowed the coming desolation, but, as if thunderstruck and having neither eyes nor minds, disregarded the warnings of God."[1] These signs were many: a star like a broad sword stood above the city, and a comet appeared for a year.[2] It had been prophesied that the city and temple would be captured when the temple was made four-square, as it had been constructed after the demolition of Antonia,[3] and four years before the outbreak of the war a certain Jesus had begun to foretell the disaster which was to come.[4] Just before the revolt, at the feast of the unleavened bread, three wonders occurred: during the night a brilliant light shone for half an hour about the altar, so that it was like daylight; a cow gave birth to a lamb in the court of the temple;[5] and the massive brazen door, the eastern gate of the inner court, which could scarcely be moved by twenty men, opened at night of its own accord and could only be closed with difficulty.[6] This spontaneous opening of the gate was interpreted by the learned as an indication that the safety of the temple was by itself being destroyed, and that the gate was opened as a gift to the enemy (vi, 295).

Soon afterwards came other signs of impending woe: "Before sunset through all the land chariots were beheld in the air and armed phalanxes marshalled through the clouds and surrounding the cities,"[7] or, as Tacitus says "Lines of battle were seen running through the heavens, arms flashed, and the temple glowed with a sudden fire of the clouds."[8] These accounts are probably "little more than the dramatisation of an atmospheric situation in which the sun, hidden behind a large cloud bank, casts a reddish hue upon the small clouds trailing in the immediate vicinity, and throws a curtain of reddish light earthward."[9]

Another not uncommon portent, which looks very much like propaganda set on foot by the Romans or their supporters, is the account of a supposed desertion of the Jews by the gods. At the feast of the Pentecost, during the night, the doors of the shrine

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1) *B. I.*, vi, 288.
2) *Ibid.*, vi, 289. 3) *Ibid.*, vi, 311. 4) *Ibid.*, vi, 300—309.
5) cf. Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 34.
6) *Ibid.*, vi, 290—294. 7) *Ibid.*, vi, 298—299.
8) *Hist.*, v, 13.
9) Krauss, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

suddenly opened, apparently of their own accord,[1] and the priest heard a mighty noise and the voice of a host saying, "We are departing hence."[2] Tacitus says that a superhuman voice cried that the "gods were departing" and that there was a mighty stir of their going forth.[3] It is quite probable that the story found in Josephus concerning the miraculous opening of the brazen door belongs to the time of the feast of the Pentecost, and thus his account would exactly tally with that of Tacitus. This story of the departure of the gods or of a divinity on the eve of a person's disaster had made its appearance in Italy in the propaganda of the civil war of 69 (above p. 6) and is resorted to before and after under similar circumstances.

Weinreich has given an excellent discussion[4] of the prodigies portending the fall of Jerusalem. The omens given in Tacitus of the *acies,* the *rutilentia arma,* the lighting up of the temple with fire from the clouds, and the sudden opening of the gate are all parallelled in Josephus. The fact that in Josephus *deities* (in the plural!) are spoken of as departing indicates that he was using a Roman source.[5] Dio Cassius moreover, gives portents at Rome, in 69, which closely parallel those related by Josephus.

Two versions of the opening of the door and other portents are given in the Talmud (babylon. Talmud, Jome 39 b and jerusalem. Talmud, Joma 43 c translated in Weinreich, *op. cit.*, p. 274) and mark it as a genuine Jewish portent. But, curiously enough, they place the phenomenon 40 years before the downfall of Jerusalem. The other omens which the Talmud gives[6] must have been known to Josephus, and his omission of them is doubtless correctly explained by Weinreich (p. 275) as follows: "Aber weil er nicht für Juden speziell schreibt, unterschlägt er alle rein jüdischen Prodigien, nur das Türomen nicht, weil dies eine der Antike geläufige Prodigienart

1) Tacitus, *Hist.,* v, 13 gives the detail of the opening of the doors, which is not found in Josephus.

2) Josephus, *B. I.,* vi, 299—300.

3) *Hist.,* v, 13.

4) *Tübinger Beiträge,* V (1929), pp. 271—279.

5) But in exhorting his countrymen to yield to the Romans, he says that God is with Rome (*B. I.,* vi, 367) and that He has fled from the Holy places to the Roman side (v, 412).

6) The lot came out in the left instead of in the right hand; the west candlestick went out; the *Karmesinstreifen* did not turn white but remained red.

ist. Jedoch auch bei ihm läßt er das Detail, das der Talmud bietet, weg und bringt andere Deutungen vor (darüber gleich mehr). Die Talmudstellen sind unabhängig von Josephus. Auch die Juden glaubten an Vorzeichen, Josephus selbst natürlich auch, und es ist sehr verständlich, daß gerade ein Ereignis wie die Zerstörung des Tempels seine Schatten vorauswirft, daß man in den Kriegsjahren doppelt aufmerksam auf Vorzeichen achtet."

When Vespasian obtained firm control of the empire, the necessity for further miracles to serve the purposes of propaganda ceased, and it is significant that only three other omens concerning Vespasian are recorded: one relates to the Flavian dynasty, the establishment of which was so dear to Vespasian; he dreamt that in the midst of the vestibule of the Palace he saw a balance with its beam level, while in one pan stood Claudius and Nero, and in the other himself and his sons."[1] Claudius and Nero each reigned thirteen years and about eight months, while Vespasian reigned ten, Titus two, and Domitian fifteen years. The story must have been concocted after the death of Domitian in 96.

The other two omens are given as portending the death of Vespasian: a comet appeared in the sky for a long time, and the mausoleum of Augustus opened of its own accord.[2] When his attention was called to the comet, it is said that Vespasian remarked: "It is a portent for the King of Persia, for he has long hair, but I am bald."[3] Both stories probably originated after the emperor's demise.

It remains to consider Vespasian's own attitude towards the *omens* which were associated with his rise to the imperial dignity As regards Vespasian's attitude towards the supernatural in so far as omens, oracles, and portents marked him as a man of destiny, there is considerable evidence in our sources. Tacitus (*Hist.*, ii, 78) writes: "Nor was Vespasian untouched by such superstition, since presently when he was master of the state he openly kept Seleucus, an astrologer, as his guide and oracle," and Dio (lxv, 9, 2) says that Vespasian, though he banished astrologers, was himself accustomed to consult the best ones. Moreover, in telling of the miracles of Alexandria, Tacitus (*Hist.*, iv, 81) represents Vespasian as at

1) Suetonius, *Vesp.*, 25.

2) *Epit.* of Dio, lxvi, 17, 2. Cf. Weinreich, *Tübinger Beiträge*, v, pp. 263—265. The mausoleum had also opened as an omen of Nero's death.

3) *Ibid.*, lxvi, 17, 3.

first ridiculing the suggestion that he possessed the power of healing but as finally effecting the cures, "thinking that all things lay open to his fortune and that nothing more was incredible." Besides, at Carmel and at Alexandria, we find Vespasian represented as consulting the gods about his fortune and as being encouraged on both occasions. Suetonius (*Vesp.*, 5, 1.) states that long before 69 Vespasian had through portents conceived a hope of empire.

Josephus, who certainly was in an excellent position to pronounce on such a matter, is in agreement with Tacitus and Suetonius; Vespasian's reaction to Josephus' prophecy of empire is thus described: "At the moment, Vespasian appeared to disbelieve and suspected that Josephus did this to try to save his own life; after a little, however, he was led to believe, for heaven was already arousing him to think of empire and foreshadowing to him the sceptre through other portents (*B. I.*, iii, 403—404)." Besides, he checked Josephus' assertions that he had foretold the fall of Jotapalta and his own capture, by privately examining the prisoners on these matters. When he found the assertions true, "he began to believe those about himself" and treated Josephus with courtesy and kindness (*B. I.*, iii, 405—408). Later on, when his Fortune was going as he wished, Vespasian came to believe he had taken the empire "not without divine providence but that some just destiny had brought to him the rule over all." Among the other omens which had foreshadowed his advancement he recalled the words of Josephus. Then, calling Mucianus and his officers, he mentioned "the prophecies which he himself at the time suspected as being the fabrications of fear but which had been shown by time and by events to be divine." He explained to them that it was shameful that the one that had foretold empire to him and had acted as minister of the voice of God should be a prisoner. Josephus was released "because of his prophecies" and was now thought "worthy of belief concerning what was to come to pass (*B. I.*, iv, 622—629)."

The evidence of our sources is that Vespasian believed in portents, omens and prophecies, in supernatural indications of the future. There is, moreover, no strong reason to discredit these reports of such belief on his part, especially when we find that his contemporaries were equally credulous.[1] There was, indeed, a

1) Cf. Lattimore (*op. cit.*, pp. 448) on the Younger Pliny, Tacitus, and Suetonius.

certain cynicism in Vespasian's dying remark. „Vae, puto deus fio" [1] but this referred to the official deification by the Senate which he knew would, as a matter of course, follow soon after his demise. Nor should his jocular attempt (if the story is true) to turn the omen of the comet just before his death into a reference to the Parthian King be enough to vitiate the combined evidence of Josephus, Suetonius, and Tacitus. Perhaps, as Lattimore (pp. 448—449) remarks, "we may have scepticism and credulity existing side by side."

Of one thing we may be sure: in the years 69 to 70 he certainly made no objection to the oracles, omens, portents, and miracles which served to create for him a reputation and lend him a much needed *auctoritas et maiestas.* Divus Iulius had not hesitated to make use of *deorum ostenta* to encourage his troops;[2] why should Vespasian fail to imitate him? There was apparently considerable "rigging" of superhuman signs or oracles favorable to Vespasian, but there was no need for him to concern himself with these matters. Tiberius Iulius Alexander, Mucianus, and the priests of Serapis could take care of such things, and it was enough if Vespasian adopted a benevolent and compliant attitude. The soothsayers in Italy, too, needed no urging to issue reports of dire foreboding for Vitellius, for one of his first acts had been to order their banishment from Italy by a fixed day, to which they replied by putting up a notice ordering him to die on a certain date.[3] The fact that the flood of events of superhuman character abruptly ceases with the end of the civil war is a good indication that much of it is probably the result of propaganda for Vespasian or against Vitellius. Certainly the best evidence of the way in which portents were of practical value is the account, given by Josephus himself, of how he went up to the walls of the besieged Jerusalem and told the inmates that God was with the Romans (*B. I.*, v, 367), and specifically that the Deity (τὸ θεῖον) had, in his opinion, fled from the holy places and taken his stand on the side of their enemies (*B. I.*, v, 412), surely a reference to the miraculous opening of the temple doors, the noise of a departure, and the cry "We are leaving you."

1) Suet. *Vesp.*, 23.

2) Suet., *Iul.*, 32.

3) Dio, lxiv *(Epit.)*, 1, 4 and Suet., *Vitellius*, 14.

CHAPTER II

THE RELIGIOUS POLICY OF VESPASIAN AS EMPEROR

For centuries the inhabitants of the Hellenistic kingdoms had been accustomed to call their rulers by the divine titles of savior (σωτήρ), benefactor (εὐεργέτης), or master (κύριος and δεσπότης).[1] It is, then, not surprising to find that the cities of the East bestowed upon Vespasian or Titus titles which they had given to even private benefactors and protectors, and most frequently to kings and then to emperors. During the Jewish war the city of Tiberias submitted to Vespasian. The populace opened the gates and went forth to meet him, hailing him as their σωτήρ and εὐεργέτης.[2] Again, when Titus entered Gischala, this procedure was repeated, for Titus was greeted by the men, women, and children as their εὐεργέτης and as their liberator (ῥρουρᾶς ἐλευθερώσαντα τὴν πόλιν).[3] The benefaction evidently consisted primarily in the fact that he had freed the town. The act of liberation had won for more than one general or ruler the title of ἐλευθέριος or of Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος.[4] At Ialysus on the island of Rhodes Vespasian was honored by the citizens as εὐεργέτης,[5] while at Eresus on the island of Lesbos the people erected a statue

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1) Cf. Dornseiff, art. Σωτήρ, *RE.* II. Reihe, 5. Halbbd. (1927), col. 1211—1221; Scott, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes," *A. J. P.*, xlix (1928), pp. 138—141 and 146—147; Deissmann, *Light from the Ancient East* (tr. by Strachan) (1927), pp. 363—365 and 349 ff.; Skard, *Zwei religiös-politische Begriffe, Euergetes-Concordia* (1932), pp. 1—66.

2) Josephus, *B. I.*, iii, 459.

3) *Ibid.*, iv, 113.

4) Cf. Jessen, art. "Eleutherios" (7), *RE.*, V (1905), cols. 2350—2351 and M. Ward "*The Association of Augustus with Jupiter*," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni*, ix (1933), pp. 213—218. Mattingly, *B. M. C. I.*, pp. clxxxiii—clxxxiv shows how Nero was honored in Greece as "Iuppiter Liberator" or Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος.

5) *I. G.* xii, 1, 679 = *IGR*, iv, 1138.

honoring him as the benefactor of the world (εὐεργέτης τᾶς οἰκουμένας) and probably as savior, for there is a lacuna in the inscription in which "savior" is probably to be supplied.[1] So, too, in an inscription at Phylae in Egypt Vespasian is called by the honorific titles of σωτήρ and εὐεργέτης.[2]

It had been not unusual in Egypt to give to the emperor the title of κύριος "Lord."[3] At Phanagoria in the Bosphorus it seems that Vespasian was honored with a statue and called the "Lord (κύριος) of all the Bosphorus."[4] In Egypt the Sicarii, some of the Jews who escaped after the fall of Jerusalem, set on foot new revolutionary plots, so that the Jews of Alexandria, fearing danger for themselves, denounced and seized over six hundred of them. These Sicarii under torture refused to acknowledge Caesar as their "Lord" (δεσπότης) and not even one of the children could be forced to call him "Lord."[5] But the Sicarii were the exception, and the inhabitants of the Eastern part of the Empire apparently looked upon Vespasian as a divine ruler much as had been the case with their Hellenistic monarchs and the preceding Roman emperors. In Egypt oaths were sworn by the new ruler,[6] just as they had been sworn in the name of the Pharaohs, the *divi*, and the reigning emperors. At Antioch, when Vespasian entered the theatre, the people had greeted him with *adulatio*,[7] which may well have consisted of hailing him as their savior or benefactor. If the suggested reading ἀ̣ησ[σήτου καίσαρος] be correct, there is inscriptional

1) *I Gr.* xii, 2, 543 = *IGR*, iv, 14.

2) Ditt., *Or. Gr.* 670 = *IGR*, i, 1296.

3) Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 355 mentions the use of κύριος with reference to Vespasian on ostraka, and writes, ". . . We cannot escape the conjecture that the Christians of the East who heard St. Paul preach in the style of Phil. ii. 9, II and I Cor. viii, 5, 6 must have found in the solemn confession that Jesus Christ is 'the Lord' a silent protest against other 'lords', and against 'the lord', as people were beginning to call the Roman Caesar. And St. Paul himself must have felt and intended this silent protest, — as well as Jude, when he calls Jesus Christ 'our *only* master and Lord.'" Cf. Lösch, *Deitas Jesu und antike Apotheose* (1933), p. 68, n. 2 and p. 74.

4) *IGR*, i, 903.

5) Josephus, *B. I.*, vii, 410—419; Cf. Deissmann, *op. cit.*, p. 355.

6) Oxy. Pap., 361 and 363; cf. Seidl, „Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht," *Münchner Beiträge zur Papyrusforschung und antiken Rechtsgeschichte*, xvii (1933), p. 11.

7) Tacitus, *Hist.* ii, 80.

evidence that Vespasian was called "the unconquered," "invictus"[1], a title of significance in the history of the imperial cult.[2]

Nor in the cosmopolitan populace at Rome was there apparently a great difference of feeling. The city had suffered cruelly from the civil wars, and the new ruler from the East must have been the object of genuine popular affection. Now, at length, security and peace and good government were restored, and with them prosperity was sure to come. When Vespasian approached home upon his arrival from Alexandria, men, women, and children lined the roadside to greet him. The kindliness of his appearance elicited the greatest enthusiasm and his people hailed him as εὐεργέτης, as σωτήρ, as the sole worthy Emperor of Rome. Once he had reached the palace, the throngs gave themselves over to feasting by tribes, families, and neighborhoods and prayed to heaven with libations that Vespasian might for the longest time remain emperor of Rome and that the sovereignty unchallenged might be guarded for his sons and their offspring forever.[3]

One thing, this desired succession of his sons, was certainly dear to Vespasian's heart, probably for two reasons: no doubt he had affection for his children, especially Titus, but he was probably primarily influenced by a desire to secure a peaceful succession, to avoid the repetition of bloody civil discord. He had before him the example of Divus Augustus, who had been concerned to secure a dynastic succession, and he knew that the Empire desired peace and security that would not be upset by his death. In fact, the possession of two sons was of influence in making Vespasian's choice as emperor acceptable. Josephus prophesied empire for Titus as well as for his father,[4] and in describing the conversation of the soldiers and officers who are thinking of revolution he places in their mouths the sentiment that the Senate and the people would not prefer Vitellius, a childless prince, to Vespasian, a father, and he has them add that the best security of peace is that the sons

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1) *Supplementum Epigr. Gr.*, ii (1924), no. 850.

2) Cf. Taylor, *The divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931), p. 65 and Sauter, *Der Römische Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius* (1934), pp. 153—159.

3) Josephus, *B. I.*, vii, 70—73.

4) *B. I.*, iii, 401—402. Tac., *Hist.*, i, 10 speaks of his final belief that the empire had been foretold for Vespasian and *his sons*.

of rulers succeed to their fathers.[1] In the same spirit Mucianus is represented by Tacitus as pointing out to Vespasian that Vespasian's house "has two young men, one of them already capable to rule," and that it would be stupid not to yield the empire to one whose son he, Mucianus, would adopt in case he were emperor.[2] This desire for the establishment of a dynasty is evident in the alleged encounter between Vespasian and Apollonius of Tyana in Alexandria. There Vespasian "as if in prayer said to the sage, 'Make me Emperor.'" Thereupon Apollonius is credited with the reply, "I have done so, for I have already prayed for an Emperor just and noble and prudent, adorned with grey locks, and the father of legitimate sons."[3] An inscription from Egypt reveals solicitude for Vespasian and "for his whole house."[4] And Vespasian, indeed, is said to have stated in the Senate after frequent conspiracies against himself that "either his sons would succeed him or he would have no successor."[5]

The Roman coinage indicates clearly the dynastic plans of Vespasian. The princes of the Flavian house have a share in the right of coinage.[6] In discussing the reverse types of 69—70 Mattingly writes, "Vespasian from the first left no doubt about his intention of founding a dynasty. The busts of his sons, Titus and Domitian, appear facing one another on the reverse, with a legend describing each of them as 'Caesar Augusti filius' and mentioning the offices assigned to them in 71, the consulship to Titus, the praetorship to Domitian. On other coins each bears the title of 'princeps iuventutis' and are represented characteristically as armed warriors on horseback or as magistrates seated on curule chairs, holding the branch of peace. A rare aureus, perhaps from a foreign mint, shows them standing, holding rolls as symbols of public life in

1) *B. I.*, iv, 592—597.

2) *Hist.*, ii, 77.

3) *Vita Apoll.*, V, 28.

4) *IGR*, i, 1120; cf. Dessau 6049 and *IGR*, iii, 37.

5) Suet., *Vesp.*, 25. Suetonius suggests that the statement was due to Vespasian's firm belief in his own horoscope and that of his sons. At any rate, the establishment of a dynasty doubtless seemed the only way to escape bloodshed and warfare upon the emperor's death.

6) Cf. Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, ii (1930), p. xix. The work will be hereafter cited simply as "Mattingly, B.M.C.", volume II to be understood unless otherwise specified.

Rome, *paterae* as symbols of priesthood. The title of 'princeps iuventutis' had already come to be a normal designation of the heir apparent."[1] A reverse type of the bronze coinage of the same period shows Tutela, "guardianship," with two children, probably Titus and Domitian, before her.[2] The bronze coinage of 71 stresses the establishment of a new ruling family: one type shows Vespasian on the reverse and his sons on the obverse;[3] another bearing *Concordia Aug.* on the reverse is probably correctly interpreted as an expression of the "harmony in the imperial house."[4] "The Spes Augusta type," according to Mattingly, "shows the goddess, Spes, greeting three helmeted men, who can be none other than Vespasian and his sons; the type is a definite proclamation of the new dynasty, resting not only on the warrior emperor, but on the two full-grown sons, who had both been fighting Rome's battles."[5] Still another type, that of Provident(ia) and an altar has with great probability been taken to suggest "the forethought that provides for the succession."[6] And finally a reverse of an as of the year 69—70 bears the inscription "aeternitas P.R.-S.C." and a Victory flying to the r. presenting to Vespasian the palladium, the symbol of the eternity and security of Rome.[7] The scene represents the entrusting of Rome's destiny to the new dynasty; Victory had turned over to Vespasian the guardianship of the *Roman imperium,*[8]

1) *Op. cit.*, p. xxxiii; cf. *ibid.*, p. 1, no. 1, p. 2, no. 6, p. 7 (ref. to Cohen 539 Paris), p. 8, no. 45. For other cases of the use of *princeps* or *principes iuventutis* types cf. *ibid.*, lii, xliv-xlv, lvi, lix, lxiii, lxv-lxix.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 112, no. 527 and p. xliv, where Mattingly suggests that "Tutela is the guardian care of the Emperor that watches over his sons." It is also possible that the children represent citizens, and Tutela the ruler's care for his subjects. Cf. Alföldi, "Pannoniai Agyagminták Es Vonatkozásaik A Császárokra," *Archeologiai Ertesitö*, xxxviii (1918), p. 17 for representation of Tutela on a mould.

3) Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 113, no. 528 and p. xlv.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 127, no. 588 and p. xlv. On p. lxvi Mattingly says, "Concordia Aug(usta) expresses the harmony of the imperial family reaching out beyond the family into the state." Cf. Schulz, *Die Rechtstitel und Regierungsprogramme* (1925), p. 30.

5) *Op. cit.*, p. xlv; for the type cf. pp. 112 and 124. Cf. on the use of Spes as a type later on, pp., lii, lxvi.

6) *Ibid.*, p. li and p. 158, no. 687.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 111, note. Cf. Audin, "Le Palladium de Rome," *Rev. Arch.* 5 sér. xxx, 1929, p. 49.

8) Cf. Köhler, *Personificationen abstrakter Begriffe auf römischen Münzen, Diss. Königsberg* (1910), pp. 31—32.

and the eternity of Rome is thus associated with the existence of the new régime.

With his insistence on the idea of a new dynasty Vespasian apparently copied the general program of the founder of the great Julio-Claudian dynasty, Augustus. From Tiberius on it had been the rule for each emperor to base his authority to some extent upon his descent from Divus Augustus.[1] One particular feature of Augustus' reign had been the prominence given to abstractions, personifications which frequently depend on the Emperor as possessor. Thus, in 11 B. C. when the Senate and people gave money to erect statues of Augustus, he set up none for himself, but instead erected statues of Salus Publica, Concordia, and Pax.[2] This was a means of identifying himself with these qualities which meant so much to the happiness and security of the citizens, and, as Mattingly has remarked, "The elevation of qualities of the Emperor into such minor deities undoubtedly rests on the conception of the Emperor himself as a more than human being; but that conception, though not formerly (sic! Should it be 'formally'?) recognized in Rome in the first century A.D. was never far away and was continually expressing itself in such forms as could be in any way grafted on to the State religion. Where the descriptive 'Augusti' is omitted, its place is usally taken by some such equivalent as 'P(opuli) R(omani)' or 'Publicus (-a, -um).' "[3]

The use of personifications on the coinage of Vespasian is strikingly reminiscent of Augustus and his program. After the civil wars the people desired Peace. This Vespasian gave them, and, like Augustus, was not backward in proclaiming this achievement in every possible way. Vespasian closed the doors of the temple of Janus as a symbol of peace.[4] The coinage, too, heralds the advent of Pax, most important after the turmoil of 69. The goddess is represented seated or standing, with various attributes: frequently she bears her olive branch, and often the caduceus of Felicitas;[5]

1) Gagé, "Divus Augustus," *Rev. Arch.* 5 sér., xxxiv, 1931, pp. 11—41.

2) Dio, liv, 35, 2.

3) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum,* i (1923), p. lxxiv; cf. Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931), p. 235.

4) Tacitus ap. Orosius, vii, 3, 7 and vii, 19, 4.

5) Cf. Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, nos. 20—30, 60—62, 345, 354—356, 364 and pp. xxxiii—xxxiv. For type with branch, caduceus, and column, cf. nos. 682—684; 709, 747, 658 and pp. 150, 153, 155, 161, 169, 174, 159.

another type shows her "draped, standing l., extending winged caduceus in r. hand over follis lying on tripod l., holding branch in l. hand, resting l. arm on a garlanded column."[1] In this scene are added aspects of Peace, the money bag of Mercury, god of trade, and the column of *Securitas.*[2] A winged Nemesis with caduceus and snake, and the legend *Paci Augustae,* or *Paci Augusti,* a restoration of a type of Claudius, refers to the suppression of the Gallic revolt and the restoration of Augustan peace.[3] It was Nemesis who destroyed the enemies of the emperor and punished their insolence, while Victory brought *Pax* as its fruit.[4]

The great importance attached by the new ruler to the goddess is illustrated by the fact that a great temple to her was begun in Rome in the year 71 and completed in 75.[5] The shrine was embellished with many masterpieces of painting and sculpture and the golden vessels from the temple of Jerusalem.[6] Among the works of art brought to the new sanctuary was Myron's bronze heifer which is represented on the coins of the year 74,[7] and a type of a seated Pax on coins of 75 doubtless refers to the completion of the temple.[8]

The attributes of the goddess on other types suggest the blessings which attend her; on some coins she has branch and sceptre,[9] on others only her olive branch,[10] or only a cornucopiae,[11] but frequently both branch and cornucopiae.[12] Again, she bears the

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1) *Ibid.,* ii, nos. 95—96; cf. nos. 110—111, 409—410, and pp. 12, 14, 16, 18.

2) *Ibid.,* ii, p. xxxvi.

3) *Ibid.,* ii, pp. xxxvii and lx; cf. coins pp. 62—63, nos. 29—35, p. 65, nos. 51 and 52; cf. also nos. 399, 400, 403—406. Cf. Rostovtzeff, "Pax Augusta Claudiana," *J. Egypt. Archaeology* xii (1926), pp. 24—29 and esp. p. 26.

4) Cf. L. Deubner, "Eine unbekannte Ara Pacis," *Röm. Mitt.* xlv (1930), pp. 37—42.

5) Dio, lxv, 15 and Josephus, *B. I.,* vii, 158.

6) Josephus, *B. I.,* vii, 159—162.

7) Pliny, *N. H.,* xxxiv, 57 and 84 and Mattingly, B. M. C., pp. xxxviii—xxxix.

8) *Ibid.,* p. xxxix and, for example, nos. 161—164.

9) *Ibid.,* nos. 280—282 and 310; also p. 167.

10) *Ibid.,* nos. 161—164.

11) *Ibid.,* p. 152.

12) *Ibid.,* nos. 328, 554—559, 620, 633, 658, 678, 716—718, 772—773, 793 and pp. 159, 165—166, 170, 176, 195, 135. On one type she has branch and sceptre, cf. *ibid.* ii, p. 109.

caduceus and corn-ears and poppy, symbols of agricultural prosperity,[1] or sceptre, corn-ear, and poppy,[2] or cornucopiae and corn-ears (?).[3]

The bronze coinage of 71 begins still another type of Pax, who "is represented with her normal attributes, olive-branch and cornucopiae, with her branch and the caduceus of Felicitas, offering thanksgiving sacrifice over an altar, and also with the torch with which she sets fire to a pile of conquered arms. . . It is the arms taken from the defeated enemy that are now burnt, in persuance of a vow, to Mars, Minerva, and the other gods of war; Minerva herself is sometimes represented watching the scene. The legend that is sometimes found, *Pax P(opuli) R(omani)*, marks the peace as welcomed and endorsed by the people of Rome — a suggestion of deference on the part of the Emperor to his subjects, of proud assertion of Rome against her rebellious subjects. There is probably a hint of the closing of the temple of Janus. Pax Augusti, it must be insisted, is not simply a state of peace, the 'Pax Augusta;' Pax is here a virtue of the Emperor — that special phase of the goddess, through which the Emperor can become 'pacifer.'"[4] Again, at the mint of Lugudunum alone, there was struck a type of Pax standing sacrificing out of a patera over an altar and holding in her left hand a caduceus and a branch.[5] The scene certainly seems to be an indication of thanksgiving for the restoration of peace and prosperity.[6] At the same mint in 78 appears a reverse type of Felicitas bearing patera and branch and with the inscription 'Felicita (tis) Reducis.' Of this Mattingly writes, "The very unusual genitive case seems to imply that Concordia and Pax are the gift of the Emperor, whose continuance in power is here celebrated."[7]

As at Lugudunum, so in other parts of the Empire the special emphasis on Pax is apparent in the imperial (not local) coinage. A type of Tarraco of 71 represents Roma as "pacifera" bearing a statuette of Pax.[8] At Illyricum a type of Bonus Eventus with

1) *Ibid.* no. 351.
2) *Ibid.* no. 749.
3) *Ibid.* no. 751.
4) *Ibid.*, pp. xlvi-xlvii; cf. nos. 553 and 771 and p. 132.
5) *Ibid.*, nos. 816–818, 860, and p. 199.
6) *Ibid.*, p. lvi.
7) P. lxi and p. 209.
8) *Ibid.*, no. 775 and p. lvi.

the legend 'Pacis Eventum,' "points to the Happy Issue (consisting) of peace."[1] From Asia comes a type of Victory with wreath and palm and the legend 'Paci Augustae,' probably indicating that the Victory of Vespasian has brought the coveted Pax Augusta.[2]

It was true that Vespasian had brought peace to the whole civilized world, and this idea is expressed in two types: one of these, on coins struck in the East, shows a draped female bust, wearing a crown of towers, and with the legend 'paci Orb. Terr. Aug.'.[3] The woman represents, I believe, the Orbis Terrarum, rather than the city of Rome or Cybele as Mattingly suggests.[4]

Indeed, the other type to be described is apparently an amplification of that just mentioned. It shows a man, seemingly Vespasian, raising up a kneeling woman wearing a crown of towers. The inscription is 'Pax Augusti.'[5] Mattingly makes the following comment: "The type of Vespasian as restorer of a towered woman, probably representing the 'Orbis Terrarum,' is explained by the legend Pax Augusti. The genitive Augusti makes peace here not merely a state, but an active quality of the Emperor — that in him which makes him a 'pacifer' or 'bringer of peace.'"[6] The title of εἰρηνηποιός 'Peacemaker' was a title frequently applied to the divine monarch and one which marked its possessor as more than human: "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called sons of God."[7]

Another abstraction which shows that Vespasian was modelling his religious and dynastic program on that of Augustus is Victoria. This deity had been for the founder of the Empire a divine force closely attached to himself, and one which after his demise continues to act in favor of his successors.[8] Vespasian simply adopts it for

1) *Ibid.*, p. lxiii and nos. 421—422.

2) *Ibid.*, p. lxvi and nos. 431, 432, 435, 436, 457, 458, 468, 475, 479, and pp. 92 and 96.

3) *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 91 and 98 and nos. 437, 438, 447, 448, 450, 459—461, 474, 476, 503.

4) *Op. cit.*, p. lxvi. Cf. Gnecchi, *I Medaglioni Romani*, ii (1912), p. 115 and Pl. 118, no. 11 for a coin of Florianus who as *restitutor Saeculi* is extending his hand to a woman wearing a crown of towers.

5) Mattingly, B. M. C., no. 504.

6) *Op. cit.*, p. lxix.

7) *N. T.*, Matthew, 5, 9. Cf. H. Windisch, "Friedensbringer — Gottessöhne," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft*, xxiv (1925), pp. 240—260. Cf. Lösch, *op. cit.*, pp. 106—121 on the expression υἱὸς Θεοῦ.

8) Cf. the excellent studies of the *Victoria Augusti* by J. Gagé: "La Victoria

himself and his house, thereby claiming the victorious power which governed the Roman world. At Brixia, in 72, he erected a temple on whose pediment was a biga of gilded bronze guided by Victoria inscribing a shield.[1] The importance for Vespasian of *Victoria* is most strikingly manifested in the coinage, where the goddess appears in many different types: one represents her standing on the prow of a ship where she is designated as 'Victoria Augusti' or 'Victoria Navalis,'[2] perhaps a reference to the Emperor's plan of blockading Rome from Egypt or to his victory over the Jews on the Lake of Gennesaret.[3] Another shows her standing on a globe and holding a wreath and palm with inscriptions which mark her as belonging to the Emperor.[4] The globe shows that his victory is world-wide in extent. Sometimes she is depicted with the title 'Victoria Augusti' as about to crown a standard,[5] or advancing with wreath and palm,[6] or seated with the same attributes.[7] The Victory on a cista mystica with a snake on either side is apparently a type borrowed from the coinage of Augustus.[8] A type of Victory crowning Vespasian,[9] as also one of Victory placing a shield on a trophy with a mourning captive represented below,[10] records a victory of Agricola in Britain.[11] But it is not Agricola who gains the victory, for credit is given to Vespasian, the possessor of the

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Augusti et les auspices de Tibère," *Rev. Arch.*, xxxii (1930), pp. 1—35; "La Victoire d'Auguste," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire*, xlix (1932), pp. 61—92; "La théologie de la Victoire Imperiale," *Rev. Hist.*, clxxi (1933), pp. 1—43.

1) Strong, *La Scultura Romana*, I (1923), p. 129 and Pl. xxviii.

2) Mattingly, nos. B. M. C. 147—149, 166—167, 597—599, 616—617, 665—666, 675—677, 692—695, 705, 740, 742, 746, 792, 809, 852, 870—872 and pp. 7, 34, 138, 143—144, 159, 161, 165, 169, 176, 177, 201 and 204.

3) *Ibid.* p. xlvii.

4) *Ibid.* nos. 63, 72—73, 81—82, 407—408, and p. 64, no. 41 with 'Vic. Aug.', nos. 361—362, with 'Victoria Imp. Vespasiani', and no. 498 with 'Victoria Aug.'.

5) *Ibid.* nos. 74—77, 509, 645, 651; pp. 152 and xxxv.

6) *Ibid.*, nos. 91—92, 142, 157, 287—289, 313, 324, 431—432, 435—436, 446, 457—458, 468, 473, 475, 479, 571, and pp. 23, 54, 64, 92, 96, 110, 133, 169, 179, 189, 198, 201, 214, 81.

7) *Ibid.*, nos. 93, 143, 158, 283—286, 314—315, and pp. 17, 41, 48, and 81.

8) *Ibid.*, nos. 169, 173, and pp. 63 (no. 37), 165 and xxxix.

9) *Ibid.*, nos. 204—205 and p. 43.

10) *Ibid.*, nos. 245—248 and 334.

11) *Ibid.*, p. xli.

Victoria Augusti. As in the case of the statue of Brixia Victory is frequently represented with a shield: she is shown flying and holding a shield above her head with both hands,[1] or holding a shield on which is inscribed 'SPQR'.[2] In some types which apparently refer to the defeat of the Jews she is about to inscribe or has inscribed a shield.[3] Likewise referring to the triumph over the Jews is the type of Victory placing a shield on a trophy, at the foot of which is a Jewess mourning,[4] or that in which Vespasian stands on a prow, holding Victory and spear, while at his feet a Jew kneels and a Jewess runs up to beg mercy.[5]

Both Roma and Vespasian are associated with *Victoria Augusti.* Roma is represented seated on a cuirass and arms and holding a Victory and spear,[6] or holding a Victory on a globe[7] or standing holding a Victory, and sometimes a spear.[8] But the Victory really belongs to the Emperor, and one coin shows Roma presenting *Victoria* to him.[9] Victory decorates his triumphal chariot,[10] or crowns him with a wreath in his quadriga.[11] On one type she stands to his right before a double triumphal arch and places a wreath on his head.[12] It is *Victoria* who recovers for him the standards lost in the war against Civilis and the Gauls, and she is depicted presenting Vespasian with a legionary eagle.[13] Similarly it is she who presents him with the *palladium*, the statuette which marked the *aeternitas* of Rome, which is henceforth to be

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1) *Ibid.*, no. 398.

2) *Ibid.*, nos. 806—807, 839—841, and p. 204.

3) *Ibid.*, pp. 112, 147, 110; nos. 577—581, 625, 637—638, 783—785, and p. 181; nos. 582—584; no. 585, nos. 839—841.

4) *Ibid.*, no. 615.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 137; sometimes Titus takes the place of Vespasian, as on no. 652.

6) *Ibid.*, pp. 128, 146, 154, 202, 204, and nos. 802—803, 837—838.

7) *Ibid.*, no. 776.

8) *Ibid.*, nos. 526, 560—564, 641, 804, 855 and pp. 136, 140, 149, 152, 162; p. 194.

9) *Ibid.* p. 180. Mattingly p. lv, thinks this "must celebrate an important success over the rebels in Gaul."

10) *Ibid.*, nos. 572 and 659; she also appears as a decoration on the car of Titus; cf. no. 668.

11) *Ibid.*, no. 397.

12) *Ibid.*, no. 576.

13) *Ibid.*, pp. 124, 181, 190 and lvi.

under his protection.[1] Sometimes a statuette of *Victoria* is carried by Minerva,[2] by Mars,[3] or by Vespasian.[4]

The other personifications in Vespasian's coinage are much like those introduced under Augustus. We find, for example, *Providentia, Salus, Felicitas, Fortuna, Securitas, Aequitas, Aeternitas, Annona, Fides, Concordia, Libertas, Iustitia, Virtus, Honos,* and these are frequently designated as being Augustan, as associated with the ruler who is the author or possessor of the blessings which the names represent.[5] It should be noted with regard to *Libertas* that the emperors, *domini* and *principes* alike, who succeeded Augustus followed his example in posing as the champions of liberty.[6] Again and again the Augustan program is revived and brought to the attention of the public by coin types; the use of the Augustan types of altar and eagle surely indicate, as Mattingly has pointed out (p. xlix), "Vespasian's desire to rank as successor of Augustus." The type and title of *Judaea Capta* (p. xxxiii) doubtless recalled the *Aegypto Capta* of Augustus, and *Mars Ultor* and *Fortuna Redux* (p. xxxiii) also have an Augustan ring. Other restorations are, to quote Mattingly (p. xxxviii), "the two laurel-trees, probably for Vespasian as for Augustus, planted in front of his door, and the Victory on prow — triumphal quadriga, if indeed it is rightly attributed to this year. In A. D. 70 had ended the first hundred years of the Empire as reckoned from Actium, 31 B. C.; if we reckon from 27 B. C. when Augustus first took his distinctive title, we actually reach this year 74. It was probably this occasion that suggested the restoration of earlier types, reinforced by the desire to associate the new imperial house with the fame of its predecessor . . ."

Belonging to this same commemorative class are types of the butting bull, the Victory on a prow, the Victory on a *cista mystica,* the capricorn; on coins of Titus, the capricorn on a globe, the

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1) *Ibid.* nos. 586 and 786 bear the inscription 'Victoria Augusti,' while this type on p. 194 has the inscription 'Aeternitas P.R.'.

2) *Ibid.,* p. 122.

3) *Ibid.* nos. 551, 552, 657 and 770.

4) *Ibid.,* p. 113.

5) Cf. Mattingly, *passim.*

6) Alföldi, „Zur Kenntnis der Zeit der römischen Soldatenkaiser", *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* xi (1930), pp. 1—10.

Venus Victrix, the oak wreath with title *Ob cives servatos.* The inscription *signis receptis* on bronze coinage of Tarraco (p. lvi) probably recalled Augustus' types signalling his recovery of the Parthian standards.

The founder of the new dynasty wished to rival Augustus as a restorer and builder of temples of the gods. Among his building activities may be mentioned the restoration of a temple of *Victoria,*[1] that deity so important to the Flavians; the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, destroyed during the civil war of 69, the temple of Divus Claudius, the temple of Honos and Virtus and that of Jupiter Conservator, the *scaena* of the theatre of Marcellus, were all restored.[2] Vespasian also honored Apollo-Sol and set up in 75 on the Via Sacra a colossal statue of the Sun God as a protector of the city.[3] The construction of the Colosseum was begun, "ut destinasse compererat Augustum" (Suet., *Vesp.,* 9); aqueducts were restored, the pomerium was extended and the Forum and the Temple of Peace were dedicated in 75.[4] Similarly, throughout all the Roman world, cities were restored.[5] Like Augustus, Vespasian took care to deserve well of his citizens, and he could count on formal apotheosis because of his benefactions. For the spirit of the times as regards deification is well expressed in a passage in Philostratus. There Domitian asks Apollonius why men call him (Apollonius) a god. The sage replies, "because every man that is thought to be good is honored by the title of god."[6]

It is important to note that on the imperial coinage Vespasian sometimes appears with the *corona radiata.*[7] The radiate crown on imperial coins had been used up to the time of Nero exclusively as decoration of a *divus.*[8] Nero, however, created the precedent

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1) CIL. xiv 3485. The temple was at Vallis Digentia in Latium.

2) Cf. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929), index p. 596.

3) Cf. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (1924), p. 44 and Nissen, "Die Stadtgründung der Flavier," *Rheinisches Museum,* xl (1894), pp. 296—297.

4) Cf. Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.,* index p. 596.

5) Aurelius Victor, *Liber de Caesaribus,* Vesp. 9, 8.

6) *Vit. Apoll.,* viii, 4.

7) Mattingly, B. M. C., ii, p. xviii.

8) F. Kenner, "Die Scheidemünze des Kaisers Nero," *Num. Zeitschr. X* (1878), pp. 250—253; Beurlier, *Le Culte impérial,* pp. 48—50; L. Cesano, "Di un nuovo medaglione aureo di Costantino I e del 'princeps iuventutis,'" *Rassegna Numismatica*

of appearing on coins with the crown borrowed from the sun god,[1] and his example was followed by Vespasian, who at least did not prevent the Senate from flattering him by the issue of coins bearing his image with radiate crown.[2]

By the inhabitants of Syria divinity was apparently bestowed on Vespasian even in his lifetime. His regnal year is sometimes designated as the "new holy year" or the "holy year" on Syrian coinage, for like Augustus he was the restorer of peace and prosperity, the founder of a new golden age.[3] Two groups of coins of the early years of his reign indicate his divinity: on one group he is represented with the aegis — just as sometimes on the Roman coinage[4] — a symbol which denotes world empire and through which the ruler is compared with Zeus.[5] The other group, belonging to the second year, shows an eagle below the monarch's head, and this representation "kann nur den Aufstieg des Kaisers zu den Göttern veranschaulichen."[6] Another Syrian type of an eagle on a club has been interpreted as a comparison of Vespasian with Hercules;[7] the type of an eagle holding a herald's rod and standing on an altar is intended to exalt the emperor as bringer of peace and all its blessings,[8] and other coins express the idea that Vespasian was under the protection of Zeus and the Tyche of the capital of Syria, the Tyche who had been the founder of his later success.[9] Thus from the very beginning the East followed its age-old custom of paying divine honor to its rulers. It seems possible, too, that in the eastern part of the Roman Empire Vespasian had even received a municipal cult even during his lifetime. That

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(1911), pp. 36—43 (an excellent treatment of the *corona radiata);* Ph. Lederer, "Beiträge zur römischen Münzkunde IV," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* xl (1930), p. 51.

1) Cf. Lederer, *op. cit.*, p. 51 and Cesano, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

2) Cf. Cesano, *op. cit.*, p. 40 and Lederer, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

3) Wruck, *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Trajan* (1931), pp. 105—106.

4) Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, ii (1926), p. 62, no. 391.

5) Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 112. Cf. Mattingly *B. M. C.* i, p. lxxi.

6) Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

7) *Ibid.*, pp. 114—115.

8) *Ibid.*, pp. 118—119.

9) *Ibid.*, pp. 121—122.

this was the case is suggested by two inscriptions: one of them, in Latin, from Pisidia mentions a 'sacerdos Imp. Caesaris Vespasiani Aug.;'[1] the other, in Greek, from Aphrodisias in Caria records an ἀρχ[ιερε]ὺς οὐεσπ[ασιανοῦ].[2] The fact that Vespasian is not characterized as Θεός or *divus,* as 'the deified,' makes it seem that he was worshipped during his lifetime,[3] though it is not certain that the consecrated ruler would always be referred to as a *divus.*

It had until recently been generally supposed that Vespasian had been active in instituting or developing the imperial cult in several provinces. Herzog-Hauser states that he was the founder of *arae Flaviae* as a religious centre for Upper Germany similar to the *ara Ubiorum* of Lower Germany, and, furthermore, that he established in Africa the provincial ruler cult.[4] Kornemann[5] suggests that Vespasian introduced changes in the cult in the province of Gallia Narbonensis, while Henderson[6] believes that Vespasian may have been the first to set up the imperial cult in Baetica. There is, however, no satisfactory evidence of any such activity on the part of Vespasian in Upper Germany, Africa, Gallia Narbonensis, or Baetica.

Our sources of information on *arae Flaviae* at Rottweil are limited: Ptolemy (ii, 11, 15) mentions a place called Βωμοὶ Φλαούιοι; the *Tabula Peutingeriana,* a road map of the Roman Empire which was probably executed in the III century A. D., designates a spot by the expression "aris Flauis."[7] Ihm,[8] without giving any

1) *J. R. S.*, ii (1912), p. 102. It was found at Yalowadj.

2) *B. C. H.*, xiv (1890), p. 611, no. 7.

3) Cf. Geiger, *De Sacerdotibus Augustorum Municipalibus,* Halle Diss. (1913), p. 12.

4) Art. "Kaiserkult," *RE.*, Supplementbd. iv (1924), 837: "Für den provinzialen K. hat Vespasians Regierung doppelte Bedeutung: erstens schuf der Kaiser im J. 74 durch die Gründung der *arae Flaviae* an der Stelle des heutigen Rottweil am Neckar einen ähnlichen Mittelpunkt für Obergermanien, wie es die *ara Ubiorum* für Untergermanien war (vgl. Mommsen, *R.G.,* 138 ff.; Ihm o. *Bd. II* S. 340); zweitens wurde durch Vespasian 70—72 der provinziale K. in Afrika begründet (vgl. Kornemann 113 ff.; Weynand 2653), das bis dahin bloß munizipal K. hatte, einen Kult des Divus Iulius (in Cirta in Numidien), einen der *Diva Augusta* aus dem Jahre ihrer Konsekration, 42, einen der Roma und des Tiberius."

5) "Zur Geschichte des antiken Herrscherkults," *Klio,* i (1901), p. 126.

6) *Five Roman Emperors,* 1927, pp. 72—73 and 146.

7) Miller, *Weltkarte des Castorius,* 1888.

8) Art. "Arae Flaviae", *RE,* ii (1895), 340.

evidence, asserted that the name *arae Flaviae* referred to Vespasian, while Mc Elderry,[1] Henderson,[2] and others[3] take it for granted that these altars were established by Vespasian as centre of emperor worship in Upper Germany. It is, indeed, true that Vespasian's forces may have been active at Rottweil and its vicinity in 74 A. D.,[4] but, as Mommsen correctly pointed out,[5] either Vespasian, Titus, or Domitian may have erected the altars. He is of the opinion that one of Vespasian's sons set up an altar or altars to his deceased father (or perhaps brother) and to his own genius.[6] The plural almost certainly points to Titus or Domitian, and I hold with Kornemann[7] in the belief that the Arae Flaviae were established by Domitian, especially in view of his activity in the district in 84 A. D.[8] and also of his active promotion of the cult of the Gens Flavia.[9] At any rate, there is no evidence to justify the assertion that it was *Vespasian* who established the *arae Flaviae* as a centre of the imperial cult for Upper Germany, and it is probable that their founder was Domitian. It is stated by Hertlein[10] and Paret[11] that the altars were dedicated to Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva, but this hypothesis appears very doubtful, and I believe that they were dedicated to members of the Flavian family.

Until recently it has been generally accepted that Vespasian introduced in Africa the provincial ruler cult with a *concilium* and

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1) "Some conjectures on the reign of Vespasian," *J.R.S.*, iii (1913), p. 122.

2) *Five Roman Emperors* (1927), pp. 91 and 146.

3) Haug und Sixt, *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs* (1912), p. 155; apparently Knorr, *Töpfer und Fabriken verzierter Terra-Sigillata des ersten Jahrhunderts* (1919), pp. 5 and 8; Hertlein, *Die Geschichte der Besetzung des römischen Württemberg* (1928), p. 32; Paret, *Die Siedlungen des römischen Württemberg* (1932), pp. 181 and 192.

4) Cf. K. Schuhmacher, *Siedlungs- und Kulturgeschichte der Rheinlande von der Urzeit bis in das Mittelalter*, ii (1923), pp. 39 and 41.

5) *Römische Geschichte*, 4 ed. (1894), v, pp. 138—139.

6) *Op. cit.*, p. 139 n. 2.

7) *Op. cit.*, p. 133.

8) Herzog, "Die römischen Niederlassungen auf würtemburgischen Boden," *Jahrbuch des Vereins von Altertumsfreunden im Rheinlande*, lix (1876), p. 57; cf. K. Müller, "Neue Funde, Rottweil," *Korrespondenzblatt der westdeutschen Zeitschrift*, viii (1889), pp. 36 and 39.

9) Cf. ch. IV.

10) *Op. cit.*, p. 32.

11) *Op. cit.*, p. 181.

sacerdotes.[1] The evidence which has been used consists of inscriptions[2] referring to a provincial *sacerdos,* a P. Mummius Saturninus, called in one inscription (12039) "S(acerdos) p(rovinciae) A(fricae) A(nni) CXIII." Since it appears probable that Mummius was priest in the province under Commodus, the 113th year has been taken to signify the 113th from the establishment of the provincial cult in Africa. Abaecherli,[3] however, has reviewed the entire problem and shown reason to believe that the date may refer to a political era. It is, moreover, possible that a provincial cult was established in Africa in the first half of the first century with *flamines* as priests, while Vespasian may have reorganized the cult and changed the designation of the priests from *flamines* to *sacerdotes.* Certainly the *argumentum ex silentio* based on the absence of inscriptions showing a provincial priesthood in the first part of the first century and the assumption that the year of the sacerdotal office of Mummius follows an era dating from the institution of the imperial cult in Africa should be treated with caution. I am inclined to share the view of Abaecherli that it is possible that Vespasian reorganized the provincial cult and that "the institution of the provincial cult in Africa remains a mystery."[4]

The ascription of changes in the imperial cult of Gallia Narbonensis to Vespasian was based upon Krascheninnikoff's restoration of the words "Caesar Vespasianus Augustus" in the right lacuna of line 13 of the *Lex Narbonensis.*[5] Abaecherli, in a recent study of the inscription,[6] has clearly demonstrated that Krascheninnikoff's restoration is too long for the lacuna. Other restorations, however, which will fit are *Caes. Vespas. August., Caesar Vesp. August.,* or *Caesar Vespas. Aug.,* but equally suitable are *Ti. Caesar Augustus, Ti. Claudius Caesar,* or even *Caesar Augustus.* Inscriptions dated early in the second century and referring to Q. Trebellius Rufus as

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1) Cf. R. McElderry, *op. cit.,* p. 122 and Henderson, *op. cit.,* p. 164.

2) Cf. CIL. viii, 12039, 12028, 12029, 12030, and Schmidt's note on no. 12039.

3) *The Institution of the Imperial Cult in the Western Provinces of the Roman Empire,* Bryn Mawr Diss., 1932 (typed copy), pp. 82—95. This work is forthcoming in volume XI of *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni.*

4) *Op. cit.,* p. 82.

5) "Über die Einführung des provinzialen Kaisercultus im römischen Westen," *Philologus,* liii (1894), esp. pp. 159—161.

6) "The dating of the Lex Narbonensis," *T.A.P.A.,* lxiii (1932), pp. 256—268.

ἀρχιερεὺς. πρῶτος ἐπαρχείας τῆς ἐκ Νάρβωνος[1] have been taken to indicate that the provincial cult was first introduced in Gallia Narbonensis by Vespasian, and that Trebellius Rufus was the *first* priest of that cult,[2] but πρῶτος is rather to be interpreted as an honorary title of the priest and not in a chronological sense.[3] There is, then, no valid reason to assign the *Lex Narbonensis* to Vespasian, and Abaecherli is probably correct in considering Tiberius as the reigning emperor mentioned in the *Lex Norbonensis.*

Henderson, (*op. cit.*, p. 146) has suggested that Vespasian may have been the first to establish the provincial cult in Baetica, but there is no indication of the evidence upon which his remark is founded, and it is quite probable that the worship of Augustus was established in Baetica by the reign of Tiberius.[4]

Just as oaths were taken in the name of the genius of the reigning emperor, so his genius was the object of worship. At Pompeii to the south of the sanctuary of the Public Lares is a small temple which had been rebuilt after the earthquake of 63 and was consecrated to the genius of the living emperor, Vespasian, at the time of the destruction of the city.[5] The temple rests upon a high podium and has against the rear of the cella a pedestal for a statue of the emperor's genius. In the centre of the court before the temple is an altar decorated on all four sides with reliefs: the scene on the front side of the altar as one enters the court represents a sacrifice of a bull, the victim sacrificed to the Genius. On the other sides of the altar are pictured utensils and objects used in sacrifices.[6] Such a cult undoubtedly was widespread, as it had been in the case of Augustus.

In conclusion it may be remarked that Vespasian's policy appears to be a marked reaction from that of Nero. He did not hesitate to make the most of supernatural evidences of divine favor during the civil war when anything which could win him prestige was of practical value. After he was securely seated on the throne, he

1) Guiraud, *Les assemblées provinciales dans l'empire romain* (1887), p. 83.

2) Cf. Abaecherli, *T.A.P.A.*, lxiii (1932), p. 261.

3) Cf. *ibid.*, p. 261, note 16 for evidence.

4) Cf. C.I.L., ii, 3271 and the excellent discussion of this inscription and of the provincial cult in Baetica by Abaecherli in her Bryn Mawr Diss., esp. pp. 75—76.

5) Cf. Taylor, *op. cit.*, pp. 216—217 and note 29.

6) Cf. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii* (1899), pp. 106—109.

strove to assure the succession of his sons and to emulate Augustus' practice of moderation and of stressing the cult personifications connected with the emperor, such as Salus, Pax and Fortuna. In Rome he chose, as Weber puts it, "das Antlitz augusteischer Milde, der liberalitas Cäsars,"[1] whereas in the East he had found it profitable at the beginning of his reign to acquire a certain divine legitimation through wonders, oracles, and portents. Once securely established in power, Vespasian persued a natural policy of reaction to the oriental and despotic régime of Nero. Indeed, such had been the policy of Vespasian's model, Augustus, who had come forward with a patriotic Roman program in opposition to Antony's favoring of the East. There were, however, two Egyptian deities to whom the Flavians were deeply indebted, namely Isis and especially Serapis. Domitian had escaped from the Capitol during the civil war disguised as a follower of Isis, and the priests of Serapis had loyally supported Vespasian by seeking to win prestige for him. The gratitude which the Emperor felt is shown in various ways. On the Alexandrian coins of the eighth and ninth year of Vespasian's reign Serapis is represented and designated as "Zeus-Serapis." The importance of this move for the cult of the Egyptian deity was enormous. Vogt writes, "Diese von der offiziellen Münze vollzogene Erweiterung des Wesens des Serapis bedeutete für den alexandrinischen Gott die Anerkennung seiner Macht, die er bei Vespasians Aufenthalt in der Stadt geoffenbart hatte; es scheint, als sollte durch die Prägung dieser Jahre nachgeholt werden, was zu Beginn der Regierung dem Sarapis gegenüber versäumt worden war."[2]

Again, at the time of the joint triumph of Vespasian and Titus, recognition of the debt due to the Alexandrian deities is apparently made. On the night before the triumph the emperor and his eldest son rested in the double temple of Isis and Serapis in the Campus Martius outside the gate.[3] It is clear, moreover, that under the Flavians the cult of the Alexandrian gods won favor in the Roman Empire,[4] and, when their temple was destroyed by fire in 80, it

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1) *Op. cit.*, p. 262.
2) *Op. cit.*, p. 44.
3) Josephus, *B.I.*, vii, 123. Cf. Weber, *op. cit.*, pp. 257 and 280.
4) Cf. Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 121 and Weber, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

was rebuilt by Domitian,[1] who is charged by Pliny with a failing for this *peregrina superstitio.*[2] In the provinces there is no clear evidence of great activity in establishing or changing the imperial cult. Vespasian had no need to seek deification during his lifetime, for such an attempt could have brought him no particular gain and would doubtless have aroused hostility. It was safer to imitate the prudence of Augustus. As for apotheosis after death, Vespasian had no illusions. His contemporaries wrote frankly of the deification in store for him: the Elder Pliny says, "To be a god is for a mortal to aid a mortal, and this is the path to everlasting glory. By this path at the present moment, the greatest ruler of every age, Vespasianus Augustus, in company with his children, is now with heavenly tread advancing, by coming to the aid of the exhausted world. This is the most ancient manner of paying thanks to those who deserve them, namely to enroll such men among the divinities."[3] It was an age when (especially in the East), to cite again the words ascribed to Apollonius, "every man that is thought to be good is honored by the title of God." Vespasian knew that his apotheosis was assured, for he had deserved well of mankind and had two sons to succeed him. He had reason to remark on his death-bed: "Vae, puto deus fio."[4]

His deification, which was secured by Titus, and the cult of the new *divus* will be discussed in the following chapter.

1) Gsell, Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien, 1894, pp. 83, 90 and 110.
2) *Paneg.*, 49.
3) *N. H.*, ii, 18—19.
4) Suet., *Vesp.* 23.

CHAPTER III

TITUS: HIS RELIGIOUS POLICY AND THE FIRST FLAVIAN *DIVI*

TITUS

As Vespasian had foreseen, he was duly deified by Titus because, according to the Younger Pliny, he desired to seem the son of a god.[1] The date of the apotheosis has been disputed: Smith[2] and Mattingly[3] are inclined because of numismatic evidence to believe that the consecration did not take place until sometime in A.D. 80: Domitian is still *Aug(usti) f(ilius)* and not *Divi f(ilius)* for the first part of the issue of A.D. 80. Both, however, call attention to the conflicting evidence of the inscription on the arch of the Aqua Marcia at Rome of A.D. 79 in which Titus is called *Divi f(ilius)*.[4] There are, moreover, other inscriptions of 79 which mention Titus as "son of the deified Vespasian,"[5] and I am inclined to agree with Weynand that the consecration occurred in 79.[6]

Under Titus numerous coins were issued in commemoration of the apotheosis of Vespasian.[7] On a reverse of Domitian is found

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1) *Panegyricus*, 11; cf. Eutropius, *Breviarium*, vii, 20: "inter Divos relatus est."

2) "A Military Diploma," *J.R.S.*, xvi (1926), p. 100.

3) Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, ii (1930), p. lxxi.

4) CIL. vi 1246 (not no. 1299 as cited by Smith and Mattingly).

5) CIG. 3935; IGR. iv 845, 846; perhaps also CIL. iii 6732; for other inscriptions of Titus' reign in which Vespasian is called *divus*, cf. CIL. x 1481; CIL. ix 5936; IG. xiv 729; IGR. iii 690, 723, 724; IGR. iv 1509, 1559, 1393, 715, 211 a; Vollmer, *Inscriptiones Baiuvariae Romanae* (1915), 257.

6) "Flavius" (206), *RE.*, vi (1909), 2674.

7) Mattingly, B. M. C., p. 242, no. 107. The deified ruler is sometimes represented with the sceptre, the symbol of command, without, however, having the altar near him; cf. Camozzi, "La Consecratio nelle Monete da Cesare ad Adriano," *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica*, xiv (1901), p. 42.

one of the most common indications of apotheosis, namely an eagle, which stands front on a column.[1] Another symbol of *Consecratio* is the altar which is depicted on the reverse of a tetradrachm struck by Domitian in the province of Asia in 80/81.[2] The altar has a door in front, and on top horns to the right and left, and a flat slab in the centre. In the field to left and right is the inscription *Divo Vesp.* As Mattingly suggests,[3] the altar is very likely one erected in Asia to the new god.

For use in the *pompa circensis* Divus Vespasianus was given a *tensa* which is represented on the obverse of *aurei* and *denarii* of Titus as a "slow quadriga r., with car in form of small temple, showing front, with pediment and one side: in pediment, wreath; on roof, quadriga in centre, Victories r. and l.; on side, two standing figures."[4] It seems that another car was appointed to bear in the circus procession an image of the deified Vespasian. The reverse of *sestertii* portrays this car, which Mattingly describes as follows: "Divus Vespasianus, togate, radiate (?), seated l. on chair set on car drawn slowly r. by four elephants with riders; he holds long vertical sceptre in r. hand and Victory in l.; the side of the car is ornamented with shields and other arms (?). DIVO AUG VESP in three lines across field, above elephants. SPQR in ex."[5] The car drawn by elephants is a type used on consecration coins,[6] and it is probable that the elephants served as a symbol of eternity in view of their long life.[7] The statue which is borne by the quadriga of elephants is sometimes, it seems, depicted separately. Thus, the reverse of an *aureus* bears the inscription "Divus Vespasianus" and shows the god seated on a throne holding a Victory in one hand and a

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1) Mattingly, B. M. C., p. 237; on the eagle in this connection, cf. Bernhart, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1926), p. 73 and "Consecratio," *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* xxii (1917), pp. 155—158.

2) Mattingly, B. M. C., p. 252, no. 150 and Bernhart, "Consecratio," *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft,* xxii (1917), pp. 159—160.

3) p. lxxix Cf. Camozzi, *op. cit.,* p. 42, on the altar in relation to *consecratio.*

4) Mattingly, B. M. C., pp. 243, no. 117 and p. 244, nos. 118—122. On the *tensa,* cf. Koch, "Tensa," *RE.,* II. Reihe, 9. Halbbd. (1934), 533—536 and Bernhart, "Consecratio," *Mitteilungen der vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* xxii (1917), pp. 161—162.

5) *Op. cit.,* ii, p. 269, nos. 221—223.

6) Camozzi, *op. cit.,* p. 48.

7) Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt,* i (1909), p. 382. Cf. Chapot, "Tensa," *Dict. des Ant.* (1918), p. 115.

sceptre in the other.[1] Very similar is another reverse type, found on *sestertii,* which shows Divus Vespasianus seated left on a chair, or curule chair, holding a branch in his extended right hand and a long vertical sceptre in his left.[2] It seems possible that the statue may be the same one which was represented on the *aureus* and shown in the car, but with a branch, perhaps substituted by the engraver of the coin.[3]

Aeternitas Aug. on coins of the deified Vespasian probably indicates his everlasting existence as a god. There are two types which bear this inscription: in one the personified *Aeternitas* is shown standing with one foot on the globe and holding a spear and cornucopiae, attributes of majesty and prosperity;[4] the other type shows the goddess holding cornucopiae and spear.[5] Perhaps the reference is both to the immortality of the deified ruler and also to the continuance of his dynasty and the empire under Flavian rule.[6]

Sometimes a shield was decreed by the Senate to a deceased prince or ruler, apparently an honor which might be occasionally, if not always, of divine character, and a mark of cult.[7] The Senate voted a shield of gold and of extraordinary size to Germanicus upon his decease,[8] but Tiberius was displeased and said that he would dedicate one of some other metal[9] and of normal size. Antoninus Pius is said to have set up in honor of the deceased and deified Hadrian a "most magnificent shield," apparently as a divine honor or one belonging to a *divus.*[10] Such is, I suggest,

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1) Mattingly, B. M. C., p. 242, no. 107. The deified ruler holds the sceptre, the symbol of command, and Victory is a special goddess of the imperial house; cf. Camozzi, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

2) Mattingly, B. M. C., pp. 269—270, nos. 224—225.

3) *Ibid.*, p. lxxvi states that this image represents Vespasian enthroned as "pacifer."

4) *Ibid.*, pp. 265—266, nos. 206—208. Mattingly (p. lxxvi) says that the type celebrates the consecration of Vespasian, and that the globe indicates that its application is world-wide.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 277.

6) Cf. Aust, "Aeternitas," *RE.* i (1893), 694—696 and Bernhart, *Handbuch*, pp. 81 ff.

7) Cf. Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial* (1890), p. 74.

8) Tac., *Ann.*, ii, 83, 3 f.

9) Cf. Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship," *T.A.P.A.*, lxii (1931), p. 113.

10) Capitolinus, *Vita Antonini, 5.*

the shield represented in two different types of coins of Divus Vespasianus struck under Titus: one shows a round shield, inscribed "S.C.", set low on a column, on which stands an urn; there are laurels to left and right; to the left and right of the column, "EX;"[1] the other type shows "capricorns l. and r. back to back, supporting round shield inscribed S.C.: below, globe."[2] This type is one struck for Divus Augustus by Tiberius, and Mattingly makes the query as to whether Capricornus was the natal sign of Vespasian.[3] In the other type the urn doubtless contains the ashes of Vespasian, and the laurels are like those which flanked the doors of Augustus, and probably those of Vespasian too.[4]

The new divinity is shown radiate and togate on the reverse of *sestertii.* He is represented handing over to Titus the *regimen orbis,* symbolized by a globe over a rudder, and the inscription, "Provident. August.," refers to the foresight of Vespasian in securing the succession of his son.[5] The following types of Divus Vespasianus, struck under Titus, refer to the features of the reign of the deceased ruler, namely, Mars with spear and trophy; Spes with flower, Ceres with corn-ears and sceptre, Concordia with patera and cornucopiae, Pax leaning on a column with caduceus and branch, Vesta holding Palladium and sceptre, Aequitas with scales and rod, Fides Publica, symbolized by clasped hands holding caduceus and corn-ears,[6] and Victoria, shown on a shield on a trophy, and with a captive in one type,[7] and in another advancing holding a wreath and a palm.[8] All these things were related to Vespasian, and the peace, plenty, and security of his reign had been obtained by his *Virtus.* In turn, *Virtus* was the quality which secured for a Roman

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1) Mattingly, B. M. C., pp. 244—245, nos. 123—127.

2) *Ibid.,* ii, pp. 245—246, nos. 128—134.

3) *Ibid.,* p. lxxiv.

4) *Ibid.,* lxxiv, and xxxviii. Bickermann ("Die römische Kaiserapotheose," *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* xxvii [1929], p. 24, n. 1) questions the interpretation of the vase as a grave urn, but I agree with Mattingly that it was intended for the ashes of the emperor.

5) Mattingly, B. M. C., p. 259, nos. 178—181 and p. lxxv.

6) For the above types cf. *ibid.,* pp. 276—278; cf. also p. lxxvii.

7) *Ibid.,* p. 243, nos. 112—116; probably a reference to the Jewish triumph (p. lxxiv).

8) *Ibid.,* p. 246, no. 135.

Emperor the final reward of apotheosis at the close of his mortal career.

Titus did more than have the Senate decree consecration for his father. He set about the institution of a cult and the erection of a temple near the *Tabularium,* although the edifice was completed by Domitian [1] and called the "templum Vespasiani et Titi."[2] Only the name of Vespasian, however, appeared in the original inscription on the upper part of the architrave as it was seen and copied in the seventh century by the compiler of the Einsiedeln Itinerary.[3] Septimius Severus and Caracalla carried out some restoration, probably not extensive. Platner and Ashby give the following description of the temple and its remains: "The temple was prostyle hexastyle 33 metres long and 22 wide, with an unusual arrangement of the steps on account of the narrow space between the Tabularium, against which it was built, and the clivus Capitolinus. The existing remains consist of the core of the podium with some of its peperino lining, two fragments of the cella wall of travertine, part of the pedestal in the rear of the cella on which stood the statues of Vespasian and Titus, and three Corinthian columns at the south-east corner of the pronaos. These columns are of white marble, 15.20 metres high and 1.57 in diameter at the base, and support a portion of the entablature on which are the last letters of the inscription. Columns and entablature were reset in 1811, at which time it was still called the temple of Jupiter Tonans. A restored fragment of the cornice is in the Tabularium. The inside walls of the nearly square cella were covered with oriental marbles, and there were marble columns around its interior as in the temple of Castor. The exterior of the temple was covered with white marble." [4]

An inscription in the Lateran Museum speaks of a temple of *Divus Vespasianus* in connection, probably, with an *aedituus.*[5] In an inscription of the year 289 A.D. a *templum Divi Vespasiani* at Cumae is mentioned,[6] but of this there is no other record. From

1) Cf. Van Deman, "The Date of Concrete Monuments," *A.J.A.,* xvi (1912) pp. 410–411.

2) *Chron.* 146; *not. Reg.* viii.

3) CIL. vi, 938: "Divo Vespasiano Augusto SPQR."

4) *Topographical Dictionary of Rome,* 1929, p. 556; cf. Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial* (1890), pp. 334–336.

5) *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana, Rendiconti* V (1928), p. 230.

6) CIL. X 3698.

many municipalities of the western part of the empire comes inscriptional evidence of the existence of *flamines* for the cult of the deified Vespasian. There were such *flamines* at Ostia (CIL. xiv 292 and 298. 4641, 4664), at Aquinum, where the poet Juvenal was *flamen* (CIL. x 5382), at Volcei (CIL. x 413), at Teruentum (CIL. IX 2600), at Histonium (CIL. IX 2855), at Dougga (CIL. VIII Suppl. 26604), at Taurini (CIL. V 7021), at Eporedia (CIL. V 6797), at Laus Pompeia (CIL. V 6360), at Tarraco (CIL. II 6095), at Cnossos (*Monumenti Antichi dei Lincei* xviii [1907], p. 382), at Salonae (CIL. III 13910); a *flamen divi Vespasiani* is mentioned in an inscription found at Kavala near Philippi (CIL. III 660); at Novaria is recorded a *flamen Divorum Vespasiani Traiani Hadriani* (CIL. V 6513) and also a *flamen* of Divus Vespasianus and of Divus Titus (CIL. V 6514). An inscription discovered in the Castello of Casasco refers to a *flamen perpetuus divi Vespasiani* (CIL. V 7458).

The municipal flaminate was probably established soon after the ruler's death and in many cases lasted for a long time as an institution. The *flamines* were men of high rank and wealth, and the priesthood was much sought after. Sometimes they were appointed by decree of the decurions and sometimes upon the nomination of the emperor.[1] Often a priest would be appointed to serve the cult of more than one *divus,* as, for example, at Novaria. The municipal flaminate was not a Flavian innovation, but a continuation of an institution of the Julio-Claudian dynasty. Since the official creation of a *divus* by senatorial decree was a distinctly Roman practise, it is not surprising that the *flamines* occur, as a rule, in the Western part of the Empire rather than in the Greek East.

Vespasian, indeed, was not the only member of the *Gens Flavia* to receive deification under the emperor Titus, who seems to have been following the example set by the Julio-Claudians of placing among the gods deceased members of the imperial house.[2] Sometime, apparently at the beginning of his reign, Titus secured the consecration, not only of his father, but also of another member of his family

1) On the flaminate see Geiger, *De Sacerdotibus Augustorum Municipalibus,* Diss. Halle 1913 and Jullian, art. "Flamen" in *Dict. des Ant.* II° 1174—1188.

2) Bickermann, "Die römische Kaiserapotheose," *Archiv für Religionswiss.,* xxvii (1929), p. 3, states that Vespasian secured the consecration of Domitilla but gives no evidence.

as *Diva Domitilla*. The exact identity of this Domitilla has not been definitely established, but it must be either the wife or the daughter of Vespasian, both of whom were named Flavia Domitilla and both of whom died before July 1, 62. The most decisive evidence is a passage in the first poem of the first book of the *Silvae*. There Statius writes of the deified members of Domitian's family, saying (94—98):

> "Huc et sub nocte silenti,
> cum superis terrena placent, tua turba relicto
> labetur caelo miscebitque oscula iuxta.
> Ibit in amplexus natus fraterque paterque
> et *soror:* una locum cervix dabit omnibus astris."

If Domitilla, Domitian's mother, had been deified, it seems incredible that Statius would thus have failed to include her in his list. Since, however, she is not mentioned, though her daughter of the same name is given, it has been generally accepted that Vespasian's wife was not deified, but only his daughter.[1] But Mattingly is rather inclined to favor the theory that "diva Domitilla" of the coins is the wife of Vespasian on the ground that the types would be more appropriate for her than for her daughter,[2] while Dessau does not hesitate to identify the *Diva Domitilla* with the mother of Titus and Vespasian.[3]

The evidence outside of the passage from Statius consists of coins and an inscription (CIL. V 2829) from the temple of Diva Faustina at Patavium where mention is made of a *sacerdos Divae Domitillae*. The coins to be considered were probably all struck at the beginning of the reign of Titus.

A *sestertius* dated in the year 80/81 by the mention of the eighth consulship of Titus shows on the reverse a "carpentum drawn r. by two mules: the tilt rests on standing figures, the side shows open

1) Cf. Gsell, *Essai*, p. 50; Stein, "Flavia Domitilla," *RE.*, 12. Halbbd. (1909), 2732; Herzog-Hauser, "Kaiserkult," *RE.*, IV Supplementbd. (1924), 836—837; Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors* (1927), p. 29; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht* II (3 ed.) (1887), p. 822, n. 1.

2) B. M. C. ii, p. lxxi. In Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, ii pp. 114—115 the following opinion is expressed: "Domitilla, who is generally (1926) and with reason taken to be the former wife of Vespasian and mother of Titus and Domitian, is honoured with the title of 'Diva' and the peacock of Juno on the rev., also with a 'Pietas' type of the domestic kind."

3) *Prosop. Imp. Rom.*, II (1897), p. 81.

trellis work at top and bottom and, in the center, two panels with figures. 'Memoriae' round edge l. to r., above; *Domitillae* in two lines across field, above mules. SPQR in ex."[1] The carpentum drawn by mules was one of the honors often given to an empress after her death, but was not necessarily a divine honor. Mattingly thinks (p. lxxvi) that it is impossible to say which Domitilla is thus honored, but for the following reasons I am inclined to believe that the carpentum is that of the elder Domitilla rather than that of her daughter: 1. Domitilla is not designated on the coins as 'Diva;'[2] 2. There are two excellent parallels in case Titus here honored his mother, for Caligula provided that the likeness of his mother, the Elder Agrippina, should be carried in the *pompa circensis* in a carpentum, and Claudius bestowed the same honor upon his deceased parent Antonia.[3] Both rulers conferred the honor in memory of the dead as an act of piety.

The other types belong, I believe, to the sister of Titus. The following three types of *denarii* have the same obverse, namely a "bust of Domitilla draped r., hair in long plait at back, necklace round neck. 'Diva Domitilla Augusta.'"[4] The reverses, however, are different: one (no. 136) shows a peacock standing r. with the inscription 'Concordia August.;' another (no. 137) represents Fortuna, draped, standing l., holding rudder in r. hand and cornucopiae in l. with the inscription 'Fortuna August.'; the third (no. 138) is described as "Pietas, draped, veiled, seated l., holding long cornucopiae(?) in l. hand, and laying r. on head of small figure l. (Spes, holding up flower and raising dress?). Pietas Augus(t)." These reverses are interpreted by Mattingly (p. lxxv) as follows: "Diva Domitilla is associated with reverses of the imperial Fortune, which has raised her family to such honour, of the peacock, the bird of Juno, to whom the 'diva' is assimilated, and of 'Pietas Augusta', laying her right hand on small figure of Spes. 'Pietas

1) Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, pp. 270—271, nos. 226—229.

2) Mattingly and Sydenham, pp. 115, to be sure, object that it is not known whether a 'Diva' could never be referred to without that title, and they call attention to the possibility that the sestertius was struck "as a first act of commemoration, preliminary to the formal 'Consecration.'"

3) Suet. *Cal.* 15 and *Claudius,* 11; cf. Mau, "carpentum" in *RE.* III (1899), 1606—1607.

4) Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, p. 246, nos. 136—138. There are several hybrids with this obverse (cf. Mattingly, p. 249, no. 148 and p. 251 nos. 14 and 15).

Augusta', here, will be Domitilla herself, presiding, like the very spirit of mother-love, over the princes, the hopes of the line. The type is far more appropriate to Domitilla the wife than to Domitilla the daughter of Vespasian." The peacock plays the same part in the consecration of the women of the imperial house as does the eagle for the men, and it gives no clue as to whether it is Vespasian's wife or daughter whom it bore to heaven.[1]

With regard to the 'pietas Augusta' reverse, may it not be interpreted as an indication that the devotion of the emperor to his family has caused him to secure the consecration of a deceased sister, for such, I believe, Domitilla is? The fact that Statius mentions her but not her mother among the deified Flavians is strong evidence. Another matter, which Mattingly does not seem to have considered, is the likeness of Domitilla on the obverse of these types. Her features bear a striking resemblance to those of Vespasian, especially in respect to the prominent nose and protruding chin. This similarity to Vespasian — in conjunction with the passage of Statius — leads me to believe that it is Domitilla, the daughter of Vespasian, who was consecrated and for whom these coins were struck.

Finally there remains an undated *aureus* with Divus Vespasianus on the obverse and Diva Domitilla on the reverse,[2] which Mattingly says "should belong, to judge from its style, to the first years of Domitian rather than to the reign of Titus."[3] Is it not, however, reasonable to suppose that the coin, commemorating as it does the consecration of a *divus* and *diva,* was struck when Vespasian and Domitilla were deified, probably, as the coin seems to suggest, at the same time? We know that Titus had his father consecrated soon after he ascended the throne, and this would have been a logical moment to deify, if he so desired, any other deceased member of his family. Just why his sister alone — if I am correct in my interpretation of the evidence — and not his mother, too, received apotheosis remains a problem.

The emperor's devotion was not shown for members of his family alone. He had as a youth been a companion and friend of

1) On the peacock and its symbolism in apotheosis cf. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt,* II (1913), pp. 148—154 and Bernhart, *Handbuch* (1926), p. 73.

2) p. 312, no. 68. He suggests 81—84 as the date of coinage.

3) *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxiv.

Britannicus. Although he did not enroll his deceased friend among the *divi,* he gave him honors which in part bordered upon the divine. Thus in his memory he set up a golden statue of his friend in the palace, likely enough in his *lararium* among the household gods,[1] and also dedicated an ivory statue of him and attended it in the *pompa circensis.*[2] There was no reason why Titus could not with propriety make a statue of his dead friend the object of private worship or do him public honor by having his image borne in the procession in the Circus. Mattingly has also suggested that a *sestertius* with a bust of Britannicus on the obverse and the figure of Mars on the reverse[3] was struck in commemoration of the prince, and that Mars is shown "as the author of the victory that gave Britannicus his name."[4]

Titus had a daughter, Julia by name, who was born on the same day on which her father later took Jerusalem, but the year of her birth is not known.[5] She is said to have been offered in marriage to Domitian and refused by him,[6] and she was later married to Titus Flavius Sabinus.[7] She proved, however, to be unfaithful to her husband, for it is said that soon after her marriage she was seduced by her uncle, Domitian, while her father was still alive.[8] During her father's reign she was honored by receiving the title *Augusta,*[9] and the reverse types of the coinage apparently identify or associate her with certain goddesses. Her bust appears on the obverse of all the coins in question, and the varieties show differences particularly in the treatment of the hair. They were struck under Titus, since Julia is designated as the daughter of Titus in the inscriptions on each, but they are not otherwise dated. The reverse types are the following:

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1) Cf. Scott, "The significance of statues in precious metals in emperor worship," *T.A.P.A.* lxii (1931), pp. 116 and 118.

2) Suet., *Titus,* 2.

3) *Op. cit.,* p. 293, no. 306.

4) B. M. C. ii, p. xxviii.

5) Suet., *Tit.,* 5.

6) Suet., *Dom.,* 22.

7) Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.* vii, 7.

8) Suet., *Dom.,* 22.

9) CIL. V 4313; IX 2588. X 1632. The coins also give her this title (cf. Dessau, *Pros. Imp. Rom.* ii [1897], p. 82, no. 281).

1. Salus, draped, seated l., holding patera in extended l. hand, r. arm at side. *Salus Aug.* (l. up). (*denarius,* Mattingly, p. 247, no. 139)
2. Venus, seen half from behind, naked to the hips, standing r., r. knee bent, resting l. elbow on column, holding helmet up in r. hand and transverse spear in l. *Venus Aug.* (r. up). (*denarii,* Mattingly, p. 247, nos. 140—143.)
3. Vesta, draped, seated l., holding palladium in extended r. hand and transverse sceptre in l. *Vesta* in ex. *S.* c. l. and r. in field. (*denarius,* Mattingly, p. 247, no. 144 and *dupondii,* Mattingly, p. 279, nos. 256—258.)
4. Ceres, draped, standing l. holding corn-ears downwards in r. hand and long vertical sceptre in l. *Ceres August. S.C.* l. and right, low, in field. (*dupondii,* Mattingly, p. 278, nos. 253—255.)
5. Concordia seated l., holding patera and cornucopiae. *Concordia Aug. S.C.* (*dupondius,* Mattingly, p. 279).[1]

In the time of the Empire the emperor is the bearer of the *Salus* of the state, and perhaps here the goddess on a reverse of Julia, only child of the emperor, suggests her participation is securing the welfare of the state. It is, however, more likely that the coin expresses a wish for the welfare of the princess, especially since the Arvals sacrifice in behalf of the safety of Julia Augusta as well as in behalf of Titus and Domitian, on the third of January, 81.[2]

The type of Venus Victrix is open flattery of the princess, a form of adulation which had been frequently employed to honor women of a ruling house, both in Hellenistic kingdoms and in the Roman empire.[3]

The Vesta is perhaps a reference to a possible bestowal of the honors of the Vestal Virgins upon Julia, since these honors were granted to many other princesses.[4] Vesta with the palladium, mark of the eternity of Rome, may indicate that Julia, as the sole child

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. Bernhart, *Handbuch* I (1923), p. 87.

2) CIL. VI 2059.

3) Cf. Riewald, *De Imperatorum Romanorum cum certis Dis et Comparatione et Aequatione, Diss. Halle* (1912), pp. 309—313 and J. Aymard, "Vénus et les mpératrices sous les derniers Antonins," *Mélanges d'arch. et d'Hist.* li (1934), pp. 178—196.

4) Cf. Mattingly, *Op. cit.,* p. lxxv.

of Titus, is one of the family which wishes to associate the eternity of Rome with the eternity of the *Gens Flavia*. Ceres is symbolic of the imperial care for the grain supply of Rome[1] and in general for plenty. In view of the fact that Julia is associated on the coins with Vesta and Ceres and that she is called regularly Julia Augusta it seems possible that the Ἰουλία Σεβαστὴ Ἑστία νέα Δημήτηρ who is honored by the *gerousia* of Lampsacus[2] may well be Julia, the daughter of Titus.[3] Finally the Concordia expresses, no doubt, "the family affection that unites the imperial house,"[4] with the added suggestion of the ὁμόνοια which existed in the world, thanks to this imperial house.[5] As will be seen below, Julia was further honored both in life and after death by her uncle, Domitian.

For years Titus had been a sharer in the rule of the empire, and it is not surprising that he followed the same general policy as his father, namely the imitation of the great Augustus. His short reign is essentially a continuation of the regime of his father. The coinage continues types of Vespasian and borrows others from the Augustan period. The program of the new monarch is one of peace, prosperity, and justice as the coins with types of Pax, Securitas, Felicitas, and Aequitas indicate. Special concern for the food supply of Rome is shown by types of Annona and Ceres. Spes points to Domitian as the heir to his brother, and Concordia heralds their harmonious relations, though there is reason enough to believe that there was ill-will on Domitian's part.[6] Victory, the possession of the emperor which brought success to the Roman arms, is a frequently occurring type, and on one coin the goddess presents Titus with the palladium, the symbol of the eternity of the city. Salus represents the safety of the ruler and perhaps of the Roman people as well. Vesta appears as she had on the coinage of

1) Cf. Riewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 305—308.

2) IGR. IV 180. Cagnat identifies this recipient of divine honors as Livia, the wife of Augustus.

3) Riewald, *op. cit.*, p. 309, thinks that Livia is referred to in the inscription, and mentions Julia Domna as another possibility. He does not suggest Titus' daughter.

4) Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. lxxvii.

5) Cf. Skard, *Zwei Religiös-Politische Begriffe, Euergetes-Concordia* (1932), p. 101. Homonoia appears also in the coinage of Alexandria under Titus (cf. Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen* [1924] i, p. 45 and ii, p. 17).

6) Cf. Gsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 28—29 for the evidence of discord between the brothers.

Vespasian, as a special protectress of the Flavian house; Titus' great military achievement, his Jewish victory, is frequently commemorated; Roma is honored, and it is fitting that she should appear on the coinage, since from the time of Augustus she had been associated with the ruling house. Fortuna had elevated the Flavians to the throne and also finds a place in the coinage; Venus is carried over from Vespasian's types; Minerva is a favorite with Domitian in his coinage of 80; the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, rebuilt after the conflagration of the civil wars, is represented. On the whole, then, this program is marked by no important departure from that of Vespasian.[1]

One series of related types coined in 80 is of particular interest. These types show seats or chairs on which are placed emblems of divinities;[2] sometimes no chair is represented, but a dolphin coiled round an anchor or a tripod with a dolphin on it.[3]

Mattingly (pp. lxxii-lxxiii), gives the following explanation of these types, "The main feature of the new issue is the series of types of *pulvinaria,* or sacred couches of the gods, associated with a supplicatio and *lectisternium* voted by the senate after the eruption of Vesuvius... On the *pulvinaria* were set out, as a rule, not actual images of the gods, but attributes or emblems *(exuviae)* or a species of wreath called struppi (στρόφια), which served as conventional representations of divine heads... Turning to our coin types we find a thunderbolt on a throne — the *pulvinar* of Jupiter and perhaps of Juno too. Dolphin and anchor represent the *pulvinar* of Neptune, a helmet on a table (contemporary type of Domitian) that of Minerva. The wreath on curule chairs is a *struppus,* or substitute for a divine head; the *pulvinar* is probably that of Venus and Mars, and we may guess with some probability that with them were associated the *divi.* Tripod, dolphin and raven stand for Apollo, stars in crescent (?) for Diana. The prophetic type of Apollo is peculiarly appropriate in view of the importance of the Sibylline books on these occasions. The lighted altar (contemporary type of Domitian) will represent Vesta and perhaps Vulcan too, the 'palmettes' on throne may possibly be corn-ears for Ceres, whether or no associated on this occasion with Mercury."

1) For these coin types and their interpretation see Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, introd., pp. lxxii—lxxix and pp. 223 ff.

2) Cf. Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, pp. 231—236. — 3) *Ibid.,* pp. 234—236.

It has, however, been recently suggested that these coins do not refer to a *lectisternium* but to a *sellisternium* for the *ludi scaenici*, when the *exuviae* of deities, of the *divi* and *divae*, and perhaps of the reigning emperor were carried on chairs in the theatrical procession.[1] Further, a convincing explanation has been offered for the triangular and semicircular objects which appear on chairs on the coins: the triangular object represented the *fastigium imperatoris* and was used as a symbol of a *divus* or emperor, while the semicircular object is analogous to the shape of the canopy on the *carpentum* of the empresses and *divae*.[2]

An undated *denarius* of Titus has on the reverse a representation of Bonus Eventus, a naked youth, standing left holding a patera in his extended right hand and corn-ears and a poppy in his left. The accompanying inscription is *Bonus Eventus Augusti*.[3] Mattingly (p. lxxiii) points out that Bonus Eventus is apparently equivalent to Ἀγαοδαίμων and that Nero at Alexandria had been celebrated as a Νέος Ἀγαοδαίμων, suggesting also that Titus "appears to be following the tradition of Nero, perhaps with direct reference to Egypt." The type, however, probably is merely a reference to the good fortune of the prince in ruling the Empire and perhaps especially to his care of the grain supply of Rome.[4]

Doubtless Titus would have rivalled the building activity of his father if his reign had not been so short. As it was, he started the temple of Vespasian,[5] built baths near the Colosseum,[6] and repaired the Aqua Claudia and Aqua Marcia.[7] At the east end of the Circus Maximus the Senate in 81 erected a triple arch in honor of the emperor and his capture of Jerusalem.[8] The repair of the aqueducts and construction of the baths were boons to the public, but the most striking benefaction of Titus was his completion and

1) L. R. Taylor, "The 'Sellisternium' and the Theatrical 'Pompa,'" *C.P.* xxx (1935), pp. 122—130.

2) A. L. Abaecherli, "Imperial Symbols on Certain Flavian Coins," *C.P.* xxx (1935), pp. 131—140.

3) Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, p. 241, no. 106.

4) In Alexandria he coins types of the Nile, Euthenia, and Serapis (Vogt, *op. cit.*, i p. 45).

5) See above, p. 44.

6) Cf. Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.* p. 533.

7) *Ibid.*, pp. 22 and 25.

8) *Ibid.*, pp. 45 and 119.

dedication in 80 of the Amphitheatrum Flavium with games which lasted for one hundred days and included a naumachia.[1] These pleasures provided for the Roman people served to endear the ruler to his subjects, and apparently his character was such as to win popularity.

Tacitus, who is none too friendly towards emperors, speaks of Titus' beauty, majesty, and talent equal to any fortune[2] and describes him as dignified, affable, energetic, democratic, and high in the favor of provinces and armies.[3] Suetonius comments upon the gifts of the Emperor, his beauty, authority, grace, strength, unusual memory, skill in arms, in horsemanship, in oratory, in poetry, in music, in stenography, in penmanship (*Titus,* 3), his industry and modesty (*Titus,* 4), and his ability to win the favor of all which made him the *amor et deliciae generis humani* (*Titus,* 1).[4] Especially glamorous must have been the fortune which had attended him and his house and raised him to the imperial throne. He had early acknowledged his debt to his Tyche by leaving standing as a memorial of her three towers of Jerusalem at the time when he destroyed the rest of the city's defences.[5]

Dio Cassius states that Titus would not permit the prosecution of those accused of *maiestas.* The emperor remarked that he could not be insulted or abused, since he did nothing censurable nor did he care about what was falsely reported. The deified emperors would themselves avenge themselves, if anyone injured them, if they really were demigods and had any power.[6] Apparently some charges, if not all of them, were of impiety toward the ruler and the *divi.* If Dio's account is trustworthy, Titus, like Tiberius,[7] refused to look upon himself as divine or see an offense to the

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1) Suet, *Titus,* 7; cf. Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.,* p. 6.

2) *Hist.,* ii, 1.

3) *Hist.,* v. 1.

4) Aurelius Victor, *De Caesaribus,* 10 and *Epitome,* 10, mentions Titus' *clementia, liberalitas, honorificientia, ac pecuniae contemptus.* The *Epitome* (10) tells how his nature turned after his accession to a better course and won for him such immortal glory that he was called the *deliciae et amor humani generis.* Josephus, too, emphasizes the *clementia* of Titus (cf. Weynand, "*Flavius*", *RE.* 12. Halbbd., 2703).

5) Josephus, *B.I.,* vi, 413 and vii, 1—4.

6) lxvi, 19.

7) Tac. *Ann.,* iii, 70.

state in irreligious word or deed directed against the imperial person. In fact, he was, it seems, paraphrasing Tiberius' words "deorum iniurias dis curae"[1] in refusing to permit action on charges of impiety towards the *divi*. Such evidence of moderation befitting a *princeps* must have added to Titus' popularity.

In the case of so excellent a ruler it is small wonder that the Elder Pliny and Martial address him during his lifetime in terms of adulation such as had become traditional for writers of the imperial court. The Elder Pliny accepted the traditional theory that benefactors or good rulers might be rewarded after death by official deification, though he seems rather sceptical about its practical application in the Roman imperial cult.[2]

But language of emperor worship had profoundly influenced literary forms, and Pliny was not proof against this influence, as may be seen in the preface to the *Natural History* where his words to Titus are such as a courtier would use to a divine monarch. There occur such expressions as: "Itaque cum ceteris in *veneratione tui* pateant omnia alia, nobis *ad colendum te* familiarius audacia sola superest. . . *Fulgurare* in nullo umquam verius dicta vis eloquentiae, tribunicia potestas facundiae. Quanto tu ore patris laudes *tonas!*. . . Te quidem in excelsissimo generis humani fastigio positum, summa eloquentia, summa eruditione praeditum, *religiose adiri* etiam a salutantibus scio, et ideo curant, quae tibi dicantur ut digna sint. *Verum dis lacte rustici multaeque gentes et mola litant salsa qui non habent tura, nec ulli fuit vitio deos colere quoque modo posset.*"[3] The sentiments are like those of Ovid when he writes:

> ". . . ut fuso taurorum sanguine centum,
> sic capitur minimo turis honore deus (*Tristia,* ii, 75 f.)."

The question of Martial's flattery of Titus hinges upon the date of the composition of the poems in the *Liber Spectaculorum*. Dau suggests that most of them referred to the games of 89 and were,

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1) Tac. *Ann.,* i, 73, 5. On Tiberius' attitude in such matters, cf. R. S. Rogers, *Criminal Trials and Legislation under Tiberius* (forthcoming in *A.P.A.* monograph series).

2) Cf. Scott, "The Elder and Younger Pliny on Emperor Worship," *T.A.P.A.*, lxiii (1932), pp. 157—158.

3) Secs. 4, 5, and 11; cf. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (1928), p. 22.

therefore, of the reign of Domitian.[1] Weinreich, however, has most convincingly shown that these poems could be composed under any emperor and that there is every reason to believe that nos. I—XXX deal with the games given in connection with the dedication of the Colosseum in 80.[2] Not all the subjects of the compositions in the book show Martial's adulation of Titus. Those, however, which are to be considered fall for the most part into two classes: one group sets forth the emperor as excelling the gods and the wonders of his arena as greater than those of myth; the other heralds his *numen*, his magical power which influences even wild beasts and nature itself.

There follow the epigrams of the first class with only a brief commentary, since an excellent and detailed discussion is available in Weinreich's *Studien zu Martial.*

V.

"Believe that Pasiphae was mated to the Dictaean bull. We have seen it; the ancient fable has won credence. And let not long-lived age, Caesar, wonder at itself: whatever fame sings of, that the arena offers you."

The marvel of Titus amphitheatre has made it possible to believe the ancient myth.

VI.

"That warrior Mars serves you in invincible arms does not suffice, Caesar. Venus herself also serves."

The point is not only that men and women garbed as deities fought in the arena, but that the gods of mythology appear before the emperor and serve him, another god above the others.

VI B.

"Fame used to sing of a deed noble and Herculean, of the lion laid low in the vast valley of Nemea. Let former witness keep silence: for after your shows, Caesar, we confess that this now is done by a woman warrior."

1) *De M. Val. Martialis libellorum ratione temporibusque,* Diss. Rostock (1887) p. 28.

2) *Op. cit.,* pp. 21—23.

The labor of Hercules cannot stand comparison with the spectacle in the arena, for a woman performs for Caesar what the hero Hercules did for Eurystheus.

VII.

"Just as Prometheus bound upon a Scythian rock fed with his too prolific breast the untiring bird, so Laureolus, hanging upon no false cross, offered his unprotected vitals to a Calydonian bear. . . Accursed, he had outdone the crimes of ancient fame, he, in whose case what had been a myth was punishment."

Thus in every way the features of the ancient myth were surpassed by the real punishment of the criminal Laureolus in the arena.

XII—XIII—XIV.

These three epigrams deal with a miracle of Caesar's games, namely the fact that a pregnant sow was pierced by a spear, and one of her offspring leapt alive from the wound. In epigram XII the marvel of the amphitheatre is compared with the miraculous birth of Bacchus, and the event of the games lends belief to the myth: Martial writes: "Who denies that Bacchus was born from his mother's death? Believe that a deity was born: thus was born a beast."

XV and XXVII.

In the first of these epigrams the *bestiarius*, Carpophorus, is thus compared with Meleager to the mythological hero's disadvantage: "That, Meleager, which was the highest glory of your fame, how small a portion is it of the fame of Carpophorus, a boar laid low!. . ." In the second poem Martial says that a barbarous land would not have dreaded the monsters of myth if Carpophorus had been born in earlier days. After listing some of these mythological creatures, Martial concludes with the lines: "Let the glory of Hercules' praise be counted: it is more to have mastered twice ten beasts (as Carpophorus had done in the arena) at one time." Again, Caesar outdoes the fables of the past with the spectacles which he provides in Rome.

XVI.

"A bull snatched up goes from the midst of the arena to the skies; this was not the work of art but of piety."

XVI B.

"A bull had borne Europa through fraternal seas: but now a bull has carried Alcides to the stars. Compare now, Fame, the steers of Caesar and of Jupiter: granted that they bore an equal burden, yet Caesar's carried his higher."

In XVI the bull was probably supposed to represent the one which had carried Europa across the sea; the animal without any burden was evidently lifted up by machinery to indicate its καταστερισμός by will of Zeus. In XVI B Europa and the bull are mentioned as an example from mythology. Then reference is made to the spectacle in the arena where a man in the rôle of Hercules was raised aloft on a steer. This wonder wrought by Caesar's steer is greater than that accomplished by Jupiter's.

XXI.

This epigram and also XXI B deal with a spectacle of the amphitheatre: a criminal representing Orpheus was shown charming birds and beasts and moving cliffs and forests, until suddenly a bear came forth from the earth and tore him to pieces. The first two lines of XXI contain the flattery of the emperor, who has made real what myth recorded. "Whatever it is said Rhodope saw on the Orphic stage, that, Caesar, the arena has displayed for you."

XXV and XXV B.

Another story depicted in the Colosseum was that of Leander swimming the Hellespont, as mentioned in epigrams XXV and XXV B. The first of these shows that the person who played the part of Leander was not drowned, and turns this into a compliment to the emperor's mercy: "Cease, Leander, to wonder that the nocturnal wave spared you: the wave was Caesar's." Added to this improvement on the legend to the credit of the ruler's clemency, is a motif which is found in the second class of poems which will now be considered, namely, the fact that Titus is a divine monarch possessing *numen,* who influences nature, as here the waves, and wild beasts.

In another chapter (VIII) evidence of the influence of the emperor's *numen* upon animals and birds will be discussed at length. Here, however, three epigrams of the *Liber Spectaculorum* which contain this theme must be considered:

X.

This epigram tells how a treacherous lion wounded his master and was for this crime slain with weapons. The concluding lines are significant: "What should be the manners of men under such a prince who orders the nature of wild beasts to be more gentle." The divine ruler would change the character of animals for the better.

XVII.

"In that the loyal and suppliant elephant worships you, O Caesar, this beast, which just now was so to be feared by the bull, does not do so under orders or at the bidding of any trainer; believe me, it, too, percieves our god *(nostrum sentit et ille deum).*" Here the elephant is found making proskynesis to the emperor because it instinctively recognizes that he possesses *numen,* that he is a *god.*

XXX.

The last poem of this group recounts a marvel of the arena: a hind pursued by hounds halted as a suppliant before Caesar's feet and was untouched by the dogs. "This boon," writes Martial, "she received because she recognized the prince. Caesar has *numen:* sacred, sacred *(sacra)* is this power *(potestas).* Believe: wild beasts have not learned to lie."

Besides this evidence of Martial's flattery of the prince a few other points are pertinent to the subject. In the twentieth epigram the princeps is called *invictus,* an epithet which is more than once used of a divine ruler.[1] In the twenty-fourth epigram a mock naval battle is spoken of as a "sacred show," whether because it was given by the emperor or was perhaps sacred to Neptune. Finally a most graceful compliment, similar to the first group treated above, is paid Titus in the twenty-eighth epigram, for he is exalted as greater than the founder of the empire, Augustus, now a god. "It had been Augustus' work here to join fleets in battle and to disturb the waters with naval trumpet. How small a part this of our Caesar's task!" There follows an account of the variety and splendor of the naval contest given by Titus, and the poem closes with the words "Let the ages know of this sea-fight alone!"

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1) Cf. Sauter, *op. cit.* pp. 153—159.

Such was the *adulatio* which the Elder Pliny and Martial could pay to Titus while yet alive. His talent, charm, kindness, generosity, and moderation endeared him to his contemporaries, and when he died after his short reign he possessed the *virtus* which Imperial Rome was wont to reward with apotheosis. As Divus Titus he takes a place in the Flavian Heaven, and his consecration will be treated in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE FLAVIAN HEAVEN

When after his short reign (79—81) Titus died on the thirteenth of September, 81, his brother Domitian succeeded him and apparently adopted the religious policy of his father and brother. Titus had secured the consecration of Vespasian and Domitilla, and now he in turn was decreed a god by the Senate. To judge from the *acta* of the Arvals he was not consecrated by October 1, 81, since his daughter is called on that date the 'daughter of Titus' and not the 'daughter of the deified Titus.'[1] Domitian himself delivered a eulogy upon his brother and "hastily had him enrolled among the *divi*"[2] so that the apotheosis evidently took place soon after Titus' demise. Titus appears frequently in Latin inscriptions as Divus and in Greek inscriptions as Θεος, the equivalent of *divus*.[3] The *Lex municipii Salpensani* and the *Lex municipii Malacitani* show that oaths were taken during the reign of Domitian in the name of Jupiter, Divus Augustus, Divus Claudius, Divus Vespasianus, Divus Titus, the genius of the ruling emperor, and the Penates.[4]

As in the case of the deified Vespasian, Titus, too, was now given in many places a municipal cult served by *flamines*. These priests of Divus Titus appear at Ostia (CIL. xiv, 400, 4142, 4622), at Comum, where the Younger Pliny was a *flamen* (CIL. v, 5667 and 5239),

1) CIL., VI 2060. cf. Weynand, *op. cit.*, 2722.

2) Dio. *Ep.* lxvii, 2; cf. Suet., *Dom.*, 2: "defunctumque nullo praeterquam consecrationis honore dignatus. . ."

3) *Divus Titus* is found, for example, in inscriptions from Ephesus (*Jahreshefte des österreichischen Archäol. Institutes*, Beiblatt [1904], p. 56 and *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale de Belgique* [1905] no. 98), Antioch in Pisidia (*T.A.P.A.* lv [1924], p. 6), on the arch of Titus from Rome [Dessau, 265], and from Tarraco [Dessau, 1399, 1419, 1850]. The title Θεός is applied to Titus on inscriptions from Pinara [IGR., iii, 573], Ilium [IGR., iv, 211], from near Egerdir in Pisidia [*Suppl. Epigr. Gr.*, vi, 597], from Thebes in Boeotia [IG., vii, 2494], from Ostia [CIL., xiv, 2925, 4674/5], from Nola [CIL., x, 1261], from Capua [CIL., x, 3830], from Sora [CIL., x, 5712].

4) Dessau, 6088 and 6089.

at Taurini (CIL. v, 6995), at Tarraco (CIL. ii, 4212), at Carthage (CIL. viii, 14364 and *Bull. Arch. du Comité* [1917], p. 119), at Dougga CIL. viii, 26470, *Bull. Arch. du Comité* [1924], p. xxxiii), at Novaria (CIL. iii, 12692 and 12695); at Parium there may have been a *sacerdos divi Titi* (CIL. iii, 376 — the inscription is restored as far as the reference to the priest is concerned), while at Aphrodisias (CIGr. 2771) and at Anazarba (*Jahreshefte,* xviii [1915], Beiblatt, p. 55) there was a priesthood of the deified Titus.

According to the accounts of the consecration of Titus in Dio and Suetonius, Domitian paid but one mark of respect to his brother, and that without any real devotion, but merely, as Pliny remarks,[1] that he might be the brother of a god. The opinions of Pliny, Suetonius, and Dio, however, are altogether too prejudiced against Domitian: the reason is that the senatorial class alone hated the emperor bitterly, and it is the senatorial tradition which the three authors represent. This is clear from the words of Suetonius, who describes the people as indifferent to the death of the ruler, the soldiers as violently angry and demanding the punishment of the assassins, but *(contra)* the senate as wildly exultant.[2] Apparently the stories of disrespect for the memory of Titus are false or exaggerated, as the evidence of honor for Titus indicates: the official *consecratio* was voted, many municipalities instituted a flaminate, and at Rome monuments bear witness to Domitian's activity in honoring his dead brother. In fact, Domitian seems to have done more for the cult of Titus, than Titus had done for that of Divus Vespasianus.

The testimony of the archaeological monuments is clear: the temple which Titus had begun for Divus Vespasianus was completed by Domitian, who employed it for the cult not of Vespasian alone but of both Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus.[3] Domitian, however, was not satisfied with this mark of respect to his father and brother. Another building, called the *Porticus Divorum,* was built by him on the Campus Martius.[4] Fragments of the Marble Plan show the

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1) *Paneg.,* 11, 1.

2) *Dom.,* 23.

3) It is called *templum Vespasiani et Titi* (*Chron.* 146 and *Not. Reg.* viii) and cult statues of the two *divi* stood on a pedestal in the rear of the cella (Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.,* p. 556).

4) *Chron.,* p. 146 and Eutropius, *Breviarium,* vii, 23.

porticus between the Saepta and the Bath of Agrippa and represent it as a porticus with an entrance formed by a triple arch on the north side and enclosing two small tetrastyle temples. The porticus was rectangular, about 200 metres long and 55 wide, and contained a grove and an altar besides the temple.[1] The fact that there were two temples would indicate by itself that not all the *divi*, but only two of them were honoured in this construction. One of them was Divus Titus, as is shown by the *Lex Collegi Aesculapi et Hygiae* of the year 153 in which it is stated that a meeting of this association of sixty members took place in *templo divorum in aede divi Titi* and that on the birthday of the reigning emperor, Antoninus Pius, a distribution of *sportulae* should be made there.[2] The other *cella* was undoubtedly sacred to the deified Vespasian, and the whole porticus was consecrated by Domitian to his deified father and brother. It has been suggested that the relief of the Suovetaurilia in the Louvre comes from the high altar of the temple.[3]

Titus was honored otherwise than by sharing the temple of Vespasian and receiving a shrine in the *porticus divorum*, for an arch of Pentelic marble was erected in his honor *in summa Sacra Via*. It was dedicated — probably under Domitian[4] — to "the deified Titus" by the Senate and Roman people as its inscription shows.[5] Above the archway is an entablature and attic, and on each side is an engaged and fluted Corinthian column, standing on a square pedestal. On the inner jambs of the arch are two reliefs: one shows the spoils from the temple of Jerusalem being carried into Rome, while the other represents Titus crowned by Victory and passing through a triumphal arch in a quadriga whose steeds are led by Roma. The frieze portrays a procession of personages and of sacrificial animals; the spandrels are decorated by winged Victory and on the keystones are apparently figures of Honos and

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1) Cf. Platner and Ashby, p. 152.

2) CIL., vi, 10234 = Dessau 7213; cf. Hülsen, "Porticus Divorum et Serapeum," *Röm. Mitt.* xviii (1903), p. 21.

3) Stuart Jones, *Quarterly Review*, Oct. (1925), p. 393 (cited by Platner and Ashby, p. 152—153). But cf. Piganiol, "Ara Martis," *Mél. d'Arch. et d'Hist.* li (1934), pp. 28 ff.

4) Mc Fayden, "The Date of the arch of Titus," *C. J.* XI (1915), pp. 131—141, advances the theory that the arch was built by Nerva or Trajan.

5) Dessau, 265.

Virtus.[1] In the centre of the ceiling of the arch Titus is shown being borne aloft by the eagle.[2] The military prowess of the deceased emperor and his services to Rome are rewarded by the official consecration.

But the structure designed to celebrate the deified Flavians which is most loudly sung by the poets of Domitian's court is the *Templum Gentis Flaviae*. In the sixth region in Rome "at the Pomegranate" was the house in which Domitian was born, and this he afterwards converted *(convertit)* into the temple of the *Gens Flavia*.[3] In 96 it was struck by lightning, according to Suetonius, who mentions this as a sign of the impending death of the emperor.[4] There the ashes of Julia, daughter of Titus, had been placed, and with them Domitian's ashes were mingled by his nurse Phyllis.[5]

The edifice is referred to by the poets. Statius bids Domitian "send appointed deities to the stars and give them temples" but remain himself on earth.[6] The *templa* in question may include that of the *Gens Flavia,* though perhaps only the temple of Vespasian and the *porticus divorum* are meant. In the same fourth book of the *Silvae,* however, the *templum gentis Flaviae* is apparently mentioned in the lines in which the poet speaks of Domitian:

> qui genti patriae futura semper
> sancit lumina Flaviumque caelum. (IV, iii, 18—19).

The reading *lumina* of verse 19 appears in the principal manuscripts, while later manuscripts have the reading *limina*. The question has been treated at length by Sauter, who favors the reading *limina,*[7] in which case it seems that Domitian consecrates a temple for his paternal *gens,* a temple that will last forever, and also a Flavian heaven. If, however, *lumina* is correct, Statius only meant

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1) Cf. Strong, *La Scultura Romana* (1923), i, p. 106.

2) On the monument in general, cf. Platner and Ashby, pp. 45—47 and Noack, "Triumph und Triumphbogen," *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1925—1926* (1928), p. 195. A new study by Lehmann-Hartleben is shortly to appear.

3) Suet., *Dom.*, 1. The temple is merely mentioned in a list of Domitian's constructions (Suet., *Dom.*, 5); cf. Chron. a. 354 in *Chronica Minora* (ed. Mommsen [1892], p. 146).

4) *Dom.*, 15.

5) *Ibid.*, 17.

6) *Silvae,* IV, ii, 59—60.

7) *Der Römische Kaiserkult bei Martial und Statius, Tübinger Beiträge* 21 (1934), pp. 150—152.

that the emperor was consecrating, for, or in honor of, his father's line the deceased members of the family as constellations who would form a Flavian heaven, and thus there would be no mention of a *templum*.

But in the next book of the *Silvae* (V) there is a certain reference to the building, for Statius speaks of Abascantus as *minister*

illius, aeternae modo qui sacraria genti
condidit inque alio posuit sua sidera caelo (i, 239—241).

The adjective "eternal" applies to the *gens* and may indicate eternal rule for it, or perhaps the eternity which would be the lot of its deified members.[1] It seems that the new temple is regarded as a second heaven which receives the *divi* of the Flavian dynasty.

Martial, like Statius, celebrates the temple in his verses. The edifice is described as one which will last throughout eternity:

dum voce supplex dumque ture placabit
matrona divae dulce Iuliae numen,
manebit altum Flaviae decus gentis
cum sole et astris cumque luce Romana.
invicta quidquid condidit manus, caeli est.
(*Epigr.* IX 1, 6—10.)

The temple is, then, a lofty one, unless the word *altum* is poetic exaggeration. The idea of vast size and impressiveness is again expressed in an epigram (IX, 34) in which Jupiter is made to wonder at the Flavian temple:

Iuppiter Idaei risit mendacia busti,
dum videt Augusti Flavia templa poli,
atque inter menses largo iam nectare fusus,
pocula cum Marti traderet ipse suo,
respiciens Phoebum pariter Phoebique sororem,
cum quibus Alcides et pius Arcas erat,
"Gnosia vos" inquit "nobis monumenta dedistis:
cernite quam plus sit Caesaris esse patrem."

Elsewhere (IX, 93, 6) Martial calls the temple *sacrae nobile gentis opus*, again giving an impression of grandeur. Another epigram (IX, 20) indicates that the construction was of marble with golden ornamentation, and suggests that the home in which Domitian was born had been cleared away to make room for the temple:

1) Cf. Sauter, pp. 149—150.

Haec, quae tota patet tegiturque et marmore et auro,
infantis domini conscia terra fuit.
felix o, quantis sonuit vagitibus et quas
vidit reptantis sustinuitque manus!
hic steterat veneranda domus quae praestitit orbi
quod Rhodos astrifero, quod pia Creta, polo.

This is the only information we have from ancient literature on the *templum Gentis Flaviae*, except for a further mention of it by Martial (IX, 3, 12) as

"addita . . . Latio Flavia templa polo,"

a reference to a probable enlargement of it by Claudius Gothicus (*Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Divus Claudius, 3, 6), and untrustworthy reference to its existence in the late fourth century.[1]

It seems possible to determine roughly the date of the construction of the temple. It is, as has been seen, mentioned for the first time by Martial in the ninth book of the *Epigrams*, and probably first by Statius in the fifth book of the *Silvae*, where Domitian is spoken of as having just *(modo)* founded the *sacraria* for his eternal *gens*. Wissowa dates the publication of the ninth book of Martial's *Epigrams* in the middle or at the end of 94, and the fifth book of the *Silvae* perhaps in 96, or a little later. It is probable, then, that the temple was not begun earlier than 94 and that it was finished about 95.[2] It might reasonably be expected that the building would appear on the coinage of about this time. Mattingly has suggested that an octostyle temple shown on the reverse of a *denarius* of 92/93 "may be the temple of Divus Vespasianus, or, perhaps, better, of the Gens 'Flavia': the standing figure seems to be female."[3] Is it not possible, however, that an unidentified

1) *Scr. Hist. Aug.*, Trig. Tyr. 33, 6 and *Not. Reg.* VI. In an article on "Die Topographie Roms bei den Scriptores Historiae Augustae," *Sitzungsberichte der Heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften*, 1916 (7. Abhandl.) — phil.-hist. Kl. pp. 10—11, Domaszewski points out that an independent knowledge of the topography of Rome cannot be ascribed to the forger who refers to the constructions of Domitian. He adds that the buildings of Domitian alone of all those of the first two centuries were preserved in the topographical tradition of the fourth century because people associated the *gens Flavia* with the house of Flavius Constantinus.

2) Sauter, p. 149 writes that it was constructed "about 95."

3) *Op. cit.* p. lxxxviii and p. 338, no. 119. There is no reason to believe with Mattingly that the *gens* was represented by the female figure.

temple which appears on the reverse of an *aureus* of 95/96 is that of the *Gens Flavia?* The reverse, which bears no legend, is thus described by Mattingly: "Front view of a temple showing two columns, on podium of three (?) steps: between the columns, seated figure facing: outside to l. and r., winged Victories (?) standing, facing inwards, holding wreaths (?). (faint traces of eagle in pediment?)."[1] The reverse type of a *sestertius* of exactly the same date represents a "round temple, showing four columns, on podium of four steps: within, figure seated front on throne: to r. and l. on steps, warriors standing, holding each a spear and a shield."[2] I am rather inclined to believe that the two reverses, in spite of differences, were intended to depict the same building. If the *templum gentis Flaviae* was round and if it was shown on the coinage at all, the temple on the reverse of the coins would seem to be the only possibility.

The site on the Quirinal was near the modern Via delle Quattro Fontane.[3] It is possible that remains of a building found there in the sixteenth century and described by Flaminio Vacca belonged to the *templum*. Vacca writes: "mi ricordo, che nella via che parte da Monte Cavalla e va alla Porta Pia . . . verso S. Vitale vi fu trovato un tempietto con colonne di marmo bigio africano, di venti palmi l'una: non sovvenendomi se detto tempio fosse di pianta rotonda ovvero ovata."[4] In case the "tempietto" of Vacca was the *templum* of the Flavian family it was apparently not so grandiose as the poets would lead us to believe. This would be especially true if the *templum* of the *gens* is the one represented on the coins described above.

The policy of Domitian, which was really a continuation of that of Titus, was doubtless intended to enhance the prestige of the *Gens Flavia,* the successor of the Julio-Claudian line. The poets and writers in general were apparently duty-bound to lend their services to the ruler's policy. As we have seen, the temple of the family was sung, and the deified members of the family were spoken of as residing in a Flavian or Latin heaven and as having become

1) *Ibid.*, p. 343, no. 229, and pl. 66, 16.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 407 and pl. 80, 12.

3) Cf. Gsell, pp. 114—115 and Platner and Ashby, p. 247.

4) Cited by W. Altmann, *Die italischen Rundbauten* (1906), p. 88. Altmann thinks that Vacca's words prove that the temple of the Flavian *Gens* was round.

stars. Sauter has recently studied this tendency in Martial and Statius to compare the deified members of the imperial family with the stars.[1] As he has shown (p. 147), the phrase "astra dare" is often used to express the consecration of a ruler, the grant of the heaven and stars as a place of abode. The *divi,* moreover, are themselves considered as stars among the other constellations. Already, under Vespasian, the Elder Pliny had foretold the consecration of the members of the new dynasty: "deus est mortali iuvare mortalem, et haec ad aeternam gloriam via, hac proceres iere Romani, hac nunc caelesti passu cum liberis suis vadit maximus omnis aevi rector Vespasianus Augustus fessis rebus subveniens, hic est vetustissimus referendi bene merentibus gratiam mos, ut tales numinibus adscribant. Quippe et aliorum nomina deorum et quae supra retuli siderum ex hominum nata sunt meritis."[2] When under Domitian the prophecy of the Elder Pliny was fulfilled, Quintilian does not hesitate to praise the practice and the *pietas* of the reigning monarch in securing immortality for his deceased and deserving kin; he writes: "Laudandum in quibusdam quod geniti immortales, quibusdam quod immortalitatem virtute sint consecuti; quod pietas principis nostri praesentium quoque temporum decus fecit."[3] The *pietas* of Domitian is that shown towards members of his own family, just as the *Pietas* coin types of the Flavians denote family affection, and at the same time *pietas erga deos,* for members of his family were *divi.*[4]

The Younger Pliny looks upon the act of *consecratio* as the raising of the dead ruler *to the stars;* consecration was justified by the sincerity of the act and by the good character of the recipient. For official apotheosis won by virtue was accepted in the political philosophy of the day.[5] In addressing Trajan he says, "Titus

1) Pp. 145—153.

2) *N. H.,* ii, 18—19.

3) *Inst. Or.,* III, vii, 9.

4) T. Ulrich, *Pietas (pius) als politischer Begriff im römischen Staate bis zum Tode des Kaisers Commodus, Historische Untersuchungen,* vi (1930), pp. 54—56, cf. Alföldi, "The Numbering of the Victories of the Emperor Gallienus," *Num. Chron.* V Ser. ix (1929), pp. 270—271, who associates the golden age with the *pia gens,* the elect race of the emperor, and J. Liegle, "Pietas," *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* xlii (1932), pp. 59—100.

5) Cf. Scott, "The Elder and Younger Pliny on Emperor Worship," *T.A.P.A.,* lxiii (1932), p. 165 and "Tacitus and the Speculum Principis," *A.J.P.* liii (1932), pp. 70—72.

consecrated Vespasian, Domitian Titus, but the former that he might seem to be the son of a god, the latter that he might seem to be the brother of a god. You raised your father (Nerva) to the stars not to cause fear to citizens, not to insult the deities, not to your own honor, but because you believe him a god. The act is less when it is accomplished by those who also think themselves gods. And, although you also worship him with incense, altars, *pulvinaria*, and a *flamen*, yet you in no wise make and prove him a god more than by being what you are; for, in the case of a prince who after choosing his successor has yielded to fate, a good successor is likewise the most certain guaranty of divinity. Has some arrogance, therefore, come to you from the immortality of your father? Do you emulate these recent rulers (Domitian and Titus?) who were indolent and haughty because of the divinity of their kinsfolk, rather than those former men of days gone by who founded this very empire?"[1]

Whether or not Domitian is fairly charged with being haughty because of the divinity of his family, there can be no question about his interest in establishing the cult of the Flavian *divi*. The Plinys and Quintilian, writing prose, did not hesitate to approve of apotheosis when it was deserved because of *Virtus*. It is not surprising to find the poets alluding with greater exuberance of language to the divine dynasty. Statius, whose poetry contains considerable adulation of the emperor,[2] has Curtius address Domitian as "magnorum proles genitorque deum (*Silv.*, I, i, 74)," the offspring and father of great divinities; the Sibyl of Cumae calls the ruler "dux hominum et *parens deorum* (*Silv.* IV, iii, 139)." The *divi* are represented as stars (cf. Sauter, pp. 145—153): in the poem on the great equestrian statue of Domitian (*Silv.* I, i, 94 ff.), the poet tells Domitian how at night his *turba* will abandon heaven and glide down to earth — son, brother, father, sister, and how one neck will afford a place for all the *stars*. "The lord of land and sea" is in another poem besought to remain on earth and give stars to heaven (*sidera dones* — *Thebaid* I, 31), and mention is made of Vespasian

. . . qui nutu superas nunc temperat arces,
progeniem claram terris partitus et astris (*Silv*, III, iii, 138–139).

Vespasian is ruling in the citadels of heaven, and one son, Domitian

1) *Paneg.*, 11, 1—4.

2) Cf. Scott, "Statius' Adulation of Domitian," *A.J.P.*, liv (1933), pp. 247—259 and Sauter, *passim*.

has been given to earth; two other children, Titus and Domitilla, are, like their father, given to the stars, themselves *astra*.

Valerius Flaccus in the introductory passage of his *Argonautica*, written, I believe, during the reign of Domitian,[1] invokes Vespasian along with Phoebus, addresses him as "sancte pater," and begs him to look with favor on his work. Then, in a *post eventum* prophecy he says:

> "ille [Domitian] tibi cultusque deum delubraque genti
> instituet, cum iam, genitor, lucebis ab omni
> parte poli; neque enim Tyriis Cynosura carinis
> certior aut Grais Helice servanda magistris,
> si tu signa dabis, sed te duce Graecia mittet
> et Sidon Nilusque rates, nunc nostra serenus
> orsa iuves, haec ut Latias vox impleat urbes (15–21)."

Reference is clearly made to the establishment of the cult of the *divi*, the foundation of the *templum gentis Flaviae*, and Vespasian is a god, a constellation in the heavens, who is invoked by the poet and asked to "raise him from the cloudy earth."[2]

The *post eventum* prophecy is a favorite device in poetry when the praises of the imperial house are to be sung, and it is employed by Silius Italicus: Jupiter reveals to Venus the fact that the Flavians for their *virtus* will be transported to the stars:

> "exin se Curibus virtus caelestis ad astra
> efferet, et sacris augebit nomen Iulis
> bellatrix gens bacifero nutrita Sabino (*Punica* III, 594–596)."

Thereupon Silius discusses in turn Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian. Of the first he writes:

> "nec Stygis ille lacus viduataque lumine regna
> sed superum sedem nostrosque tenebit honores (601–602)."

Vespasian will not go to the lower world but will be exalted to the heavens and receive the same honors as Jupiter. Next come a few lines in praise of Titus, and then follows a long passage

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1) Cf. R. Syme, "The *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus," *C. Q.*, XXIII (1929), pp. 129—137 and Scott, "La data di Composizione della *Argonautica* di Valerio Flacco," *Rivista di Filologia e d' Istruzione Classica*, N.S. XII (1934), pp. 474—481.

2) On the invocation as a form of flattery in the imperial cult cf. H. Frère, "Stace, *Silvae* IV *praef.*, 5 suiv. K," *Mélanges Paul Thomas* (1930), pp. 300—311.

devoted to Domitian, who will surpass his father and brother. In the distant future Domitian will share with Jupiter the rule of the sky (611), for first great deeds are to be accomplished on earth. The passage concludes with the following lines which emphasize the divinity of the ruler and his family:

"tunc, o *nate deum divosque dature,* beatas
imperio terras patrio rege. tarda senectam
hospitia excipient caeli, solioque Quirinus
concedet, mediumque parens fraterque locabunt:
siderei iuxta radiabunt tempora nati (625—629)."

The picture is truly that of a *domus divina!*

Martial, flatterer *par excellence,* joined in the chorus of adulation. As we have seen, he recorded the erection of the *templum Gentis Flaviae,* and besides he frequently makes the deification of members of the imperial family the theme of his verse: Rome owes to Domitian:

"tot nascentia templa, tot renata,
tot spectacula, tot *deos*... (VI, 4);"

and, in much the same vein he writes:

"sic nova dum condis, revocas, Auguste, priora:
debentur quae sunt quaeque fuere tibi (VIII, 80, 7–8)."

Both old shrines are restored and new ones are built, notably for the *divi* of the *Gens Flavia.*

The deified Flavians are represented by Martial, as by his contemporaries, as having been sent to the stars and as being themselves constellations: Domitian has given *astra suis, caelo sidera* (IX, 101, 22); again he is said to have "given the stars to his great parent" (XIV, 124), while it is suggested that a mighty lion of the arena was sent down from the constellation *Leo* by either the brother or father of Domitian (VIII, 55, 15—16).[1] Juvenal, too, refers to the conception of the *divi* as stars, for, in contrasting the simplicity of the age of Saturn with his own time, he writes, "nor was the crowd of gods *(turba deorum)* such as it is today, and the stars, content with a few divinities weighed down unhappy Atlas with a lesser weight."[2]

1) The other material of this character in Martial's *Epigrams* will be discussed in dealing with the apotheosis of the baby Caesar, son of Domitian by Domitia, and of Julia, daughter of Titus.

2) *Sat.,* xiii, 46—49.

We have just seen that Domitian is celebrated as the parent of a deified son, "who by night will glide down from heaven to embrace his father"[1] and who, when Domitian is finally consecrated, will as a constellation give forth rays near his sire.[2] Martial, too, in the third Epigram of Book IV (October, 88)[3] represents Domitian's son as being in the heavens. Snow falls on the emperor, who smiles. Then Martial, after asking who the sender of the snowfall is, answers his own question:

"quis siccis lascivit aquis et ab aethere ludit?
suspicor has pueri Caesaris esse nives."

Once more, in epigram 86 of Book IX, reference is made to the child in an interesting connection: Martial wishes to console the orator and poet Silius for the loss of a son, so he points out that Apollo lost Linus, Calliope Orpheus, Zeus Sarpedon, and finally Domitian a son. All are gods and their children divine.

The tone of the epigram in which the son is represented as sporting with the snow *(lascivit . . . ludit)* suggests a young child. This is confirmed by the evidence of the coins. A reverse of undated *aurei* and *denarii* of Domitia, coins which Mattingly assigns to A.D. 81—84, shows a "naked infant boy (Divus Caesar as a baby Jupiter) seated on a globe, marked with cross zones, stretching out hands at sides; above and around, seven stars" and bears the inscription *Divus Caesar Imp. Domitiani F.*[4] Dieudonné explains that the young Caesar is portrayed as the infant Zeus, that the seven stars represent Ursus, symbol of royalty and of eternity, and that the globe stands for the earth, where Zeus and the child of Domitian passed their infancy before being transported to the skies.[5] The seven stars are a symbol of Aion, and Alföldi has shown that the seven stars and half moon on a *denarius* of Septimius Severus express the *saeculi felicitas.*[6] Another reverse type of

1) Statius, *Silv.*, I, i, 94—98, composed before the end of 89 (cf. Wissowa, "Chronologie des Martial und Statius" in Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte* IV [1921] p. 296).

2) Silius Italicus, *Punica,* iii, 629.

3) Cf. Wissowa, *op. cit.,* p. 293.

4) Mattingly, B. M. C., ii, p. 311, nos. 61 and 63 and also p. lxxxix.

5) "Une Monnaie de l'Impératrice Domitia," *Mélanges Numismatiques,* i (1909), pp. 1—9. Cf. Cook, *Zeus,* i (1914), p. 51. Cf. Schlachter, *Der Globus,* ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ, viii (1927), p. 73.

6) "Der Neue Weltherrscher der IV. Ekloge Vergils," *Hermes* lxv (1930), p. 378.

denarii of Domitia bears the title 'Pietas August.' and shows "Pietas, draped, veiled, seated l., extending right hand towards child who stands l., r. hand raised before her, and holding transverse sceptre in l. hand."[1] Is the child intended to suggest the son who died and was consecrated through the *pietas* of the parents? In any event, I am inclined to agree with Ulrich[2] that the scene and title suggest family affection and devotion, and do not refer to the *alimenta*.

The same general *pietas* type occurs on the reverse of *sestertii* of Domitia belonging to the early years of the reign. It shows "Domitia, draped, veiled, seated l. on throne, extending r. hand to touch small boy, standing r., r. arm bent, r. hand raised before her, and holding sceptre in l. hand." The inscription, *Divi Caesar. Matri*, or *Mater* celebrates her as mother of the deified Caesar in the guise of Pietas.[3] In this connection the words of Quintilian are significant: "Laudandum in quibusdam quod geniti immortales, quibusdam quod immortalitatem virtute sint consecuti; quod *pietas* principis nostri praesentium quoque temporum decus fecit."[4]

It is likewise noteworthy that on her other types of bronze coinage she appears as Concordia "draped, veiled, standing l., sacrificing out of patera in r. hand over lighted and garlanded altar l., and holding vertical sceptre in l. hand,"[5] or as Ceres, "standing l., holding corn-ears and vertical sceptre,"[6] in both cases with an inscription designating her as *Divi Caesaris Mater*.[7] The child playing with the stars is clearly portrayed as a mere infant, while the child of the *Pietas* types is older, though in these I believe that it is a repetition in the main of a *Diva Domitilla* type of the reign of Titus.[8]

There remains a problem to be considered, namely the dates of the birth, of the death, and of the consecration of the young Caesar.

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1) Cf. Mattingly, B. M. C., ii, p. 312, nos. 65 and 66 and Pl. 61, 9.

2) *Op. cit.*, p. 56.

3) Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, p. 413, nos. 501 and 502 and pl. 82, 3. Cf. also p. xcvi.

4) *Inst. Or.*, III, vii, 9.

5) Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, p. 413, no. 503, pl. 82, 4.

6) *Ibid.*, p. 414.

7) *Ibid.*, p. xcvi.

8) Cf. Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, p. 246, no. 138, pl. 47, 13 and Mattingly and Sydenham, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 124, no. 73. With these compare Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 347, no. 247, pl. 67, 14.

Mattingly (p. lxxxix) says that there is doubt about the date of the boy's birth, and that "Suetonius, *Domitian,* 3, places it in Domitian's second consulship, whereas Martial vii, 3 (*sic!* It must be vi, 3) might seem to imply a date in Domitian's own reign." The hypothesis, based on Martial, Ep. vi, 3, of a child born about A.D. 90 must be discarded, for there is no mention of such a child, and the coins indicate that there was a deified Caesar before A.D. 84 at the latest, while a passage in Statius *Silvae* (I, i, 94 ff.) proves the deification of a son of Domitian before 88.

The birth of a son to Domitian and Domitia in the year of his second consulship, A.D. 73, is attested by the following passage in Suetonius, *Dom.*, 3: "Deinde uxorem Domitiam, ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium ţulerat alteroque anno (lacuna?) consalutavit Augustam." Various suggestions have been made in an effort to emend the text, though none of them is satisfactory.[1] If the language of Martial concerning the snowfall and the evidence of the coins showing an infant Caesar surrounded by stars are an indication that the child died in infancy, we then may have a clue to the original text of Suetonius. If the young Caesar died as a baby, the event would fall probably in the year of his birth, 73, or the following year, 74. Now Suetonius informs us that the boy was born in Domitian's second consulate, 73, and that something — there is apparently a lacuna in the text — happened in the next year. This event, I suggest, was the death of the child, in which case it might be possible to emend the text to read: "Deinde uxorem Domitiam, ex qua in secundo suo consulatu filium tulerat alteroque anno [amiserat], consalutavit Augustam." The relative *qua,* however, in the phrase *ex qua* would be awkward with such a verb as *amiserat,* and the text appears to be hopelessly corrupt. Yet the lacuna, I am convinced, contained in some form the statement that the child died in infancy. Sauter (p. 146) states that the child died in 73. Probably the child was formally consecrated soon after his father came to the throne, probably in 81. The coins of Domitia, dated by Mattingly in the years 81—84, would support this view, and, as in the case of Domitilla, it was not unusual for a person to be deified long after death. Domitian apparently marked the beginning of his reign by a policy of *pietas* through

1) Cf. Mooney's edition of Suetonius *De Vita Caesarum,* VII—VIII (1930), p. 518.

deifying his son and brother and establishing their cult and that of Vespasian.

Martial, in the following epigram (VI, 3), speaks of the child which would be born to Domitian and which would be his heir:

Nascere Dardanio promissum nomen Iulo,
vera deum suboles: nascere, magne puer,
cui pater aeternas post saecula tradat habenas,
quique regas orbem cum seniore senex.
ipsa tibi niveo trahet aurea pollice fila
et totam Phrixi Iulia nebit ovem.

In this composition there is a miniature Messianic Eclogue, obviously inspired by that of Virgil.[1] There is no indication of a child having been born to the emperor during his reign, and the poem may, I believe, be safely considered a general wish on Martial's part that the ruler may have a son and heir by Domitia.[2] The spinning of the golden life-thread, a motif not present in the IV *Eclogue,* is found in the *Apocolocyntosis,* where with thread of gold a life beyond all normal bounds is woven for Nero[3] by the Fates. In Martial, Julia, apparently as a *diva,* is to perform this task for the heir whose birth is desired.

Already, under the preceding reign, Julia had been the recipient of flattery which associated her with goddesses, and she had been mentioned in the prayers of the Arvals. Domitian, who had supposedly refused to marry her while her father was still alive but later seduced her, is reported to have lived with her and to have caused her death by compelling her to get rid of a child of his by abortion.[4]

1) One need only compare *vera deum suboles* of our poem with the *cara deum suboles* (1. 49) of Virgil's Fourth Eclogue, or the *nascere, magne puer* of Martial, with the *incipe, parve puer* (1. 62) of Virgil. For the beliefs of the age when Virgil wrote, cf. Alföldi, "Der neue Weltherrscher der Ekloge Vergils," *Hermes,* lxv (1930), pp. 369—384. Cf. Sauter, pp. 120—121. Cf. Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, p. lxxxix, cited above.

2) Sauter's remark (p. 100) "Eine gesonderte Betrachtung verdient das Epigramm Martials auf eine bevorstehende Geburt der Gattin Domitians, Domitia," apparently expresses a belief in the actual pregnancy of Domitia. This supposition is unnecessary in such a Messianic poem.

3) Seneca, *Apocol.,* iv.

4) Juvenal, *Sat.,* ii, 29—32; Pliny, *Ep.,* iv, 11; Suet., *Dom.,* 22. These writers are all hostile to Domitian. Juvenal in his role of satirist would be attracted by such a story; Suetonius is inclined to make abundant use of scandal, while Pliny, like the rest of the senatorial class, shows a savage hatred for the *deus*

Whether this is true or not, Julia is highly honored during the reign of Domitian, and after her death, which probably occurred about the year 89,[1] was consecrated. In the *acta* of the Arvals of the first of October, 81[2] and again on the third of January, 87[3] vows are made for the safety and health of Julia as well as of Domitian and Domitia.[4]

Under Domitian coins were occasionally issued which honored Julia. An *aureus,* which Mattingly dates in the years 81—84, shows radiate head of Divus Titus Augustus on the obverse, while the reverse bears a bust of Julia with the inscription "Iulia Augusta Divi Titi F."[5] An undated tetradrachm of the imperial mint of Asia (Ephesus) shows on the obverse a bust of Julia as daughter of the deified Titus, and on the reverse Vesta with palladium and sceptre, doubtless an attempt to flatter the princess by associating her with the goddess.[6]

The Roman mint struck in honor of Julia Augusta *aurei* and *denarii* which bear no date, but perhaps belong to the period from 86 to her death.[7] On the obverse of the *denarius* appears a bust of Julia, and on the reverse a "peacock, standing front, with tail spread" and the title "Concordia Augusta."[8] The *aureus* is similar both on the obverse and reverse, except that the title of the reverse

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et dominus. Perhaps their charge against Domitian is true, but I cannot help feeling that normal affection between uncle and niece might have been distorted by the scandal-mongers and enemies of the ruler into the story which has come down to us. It is characteristic of the Panegyric that the ruler is praised at the expense of his predecessor. Flattery of a *dominus,* for example, is blamed but in the same breath bestowed upon the *princeps;* cf. Alföldi, "Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe," *Röm.Mitt.* xlix (1934), p. 31, note 2.

1) Cf. Gsell, *op. cit.,* p. 240, note 3 and *Prosop. Imp. Rom.,* ii, p. 82. Mattingly, B. M. C., ii p. lxxxiv, thinks she died in 91, "as she is commemorated as 'Diva' on *sestertii* of Domitian of A.D. 91—92."

2) CIL. vi, 2063.

3) CIL. vi, 2065.

4) On the third of January, 90, she is already dead, for the vows of the Arvals are then made only for Domitian and Domitia (CIL, vi, 2067).

5) Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, p. 313, no. 69.

6) *Ibid.,* p. 353, no. 258, and p. xcviii.

7) Cf. *Ibid.,* p. lxxxiv.

8) *Ibid.,* p. 350. This reverse had been used in coinage of Diva Domitilla. Could it perhaps have been used for Julia after her death, but before her apotheosis?

is *Divi Titi Filia.*[1] The type of the peacock indicates that Julia, like Domitia, was assimilated to Juno, and the inscription 'Concordia Augusti' celebrates the harmony within the imperial family.[2] This association of Julia with the goddess Juno is further attested in art. A yellow sard represents the princess as Juno crowned by a peacock, as were the queens of Egypt with the flamingo.[3]

The last member of the dynasty to be added to the Flavian heaven was Julia, probably in A.D. 90, for she is not mentioned among the deified Flavians by Statius in his first book of the *Silvae,* composed before the end of 89.[4] Her consecration is commemorated on a yellow brown sprinkled chalcedony formerly in the Marlborough Collection. On the gem a bust of Julia is represented being borne aloft by a peacock,[5] the bird which carried to the skies the *divae* just as the eagle served to transport the *divi.*[6]

After her consecration Julia was honored in the coinage as *Diva Iulia. Sestertii* of A.D. 90—91 and 92—94 portray on the reverse a "carpentum drawn r. by two mules: the tilt rests on three standing figures, one at each of the three corners showing, and in the side is a panel on which is a standing figure: on the side of body of car two disks. Six spokes in wheel."[7] The inscription "Divae Iuliae Aug. Divi Titi F." shows that the carpentum represented on the coins is one used to bear in the circus procession the image of the new goddess.[8] She was also granted a biga of elephants at the *pompa circensis,* and this is represented on *aurei* which show on the obverse a bust of Julia, diademed, with the title *Diva Iulia*; the reverse shows her seated in a car, drawn l. by two elephants with drivers; she holds corn-ears and sceptre and is designated as *Augusta.*[9] A similar type shows her in the same biga, but holding

1) *Ibid.,* p. 350, no. 250.

2) *Ibid.,* p. lxxxix.

3) King, *Handbook of Engraved Gems* (1885), pl. lxxiii, no. 8 and description p. 238; cf. Keller, *Antike Tierwelt,* ii (1913), p. 153.

4) Wissowa, "Chronologie des Martial und Statius," Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte,* iv (1921), p. 296.

5) Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen,* iii (1900), p. 335.

6) Cf. Bernhart, *Handbuch* (1926), p. 73.

7) Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, pp. 402—403, nos. 458—463 and pp. 405—406, nos. 471—473.

8) Cf. Saglio, art. "carpentum," *Dict. des Ant.* i, 2 (1887), pp. 926—927; Bernhart, p. 73; Mattingly, B. M. C., p. xcv.

9) Mattingly, B. M. C. ii, p. 350.

a branch.[1] In the first case she is represented in the guise of *Ceres Augusta* and in the second as *Pax*.[2]

The princess also received a cult outside of Rome in some municipalities. At Celeia a dedication was made to *Diva Iulia*, and perhaps statues were erected to her and to Domitia.[3] At Novaria mention is made of a *flamen* of Divus Vespasianus and Divus Titus and of a *flaminica* of Diva Iulia and also of Diva Sabina.[4] Again, at Aeclanum, a certain Longinia was priestess of Diva Iulia Pia Augusta.[5]

As we have seen above (p. 75) Martial fancifully says that Julia will spin a golden life-thread for the desired heir to the throne. Again he describes a statue of Julia, now deified, with Venus and Cupid: "Who, Julia, would not think that you were shaped by the chisel of Phidias? or who that you were not the work of Pallas' skill? The white Lygdian marble with its speaking likeness replies, and a live beauty gleams in the calm countenance. Her hand, not rough, plays with the Acidalian girdle, which, poor Cupid, she has snatched from your neck. That the love of Mars and of the highest Thunderer be regained, let Juno seek from you the cestos, and let Venus seek it too."[6] Finally, Martial celebrates the *diva* in a poem devoted to the eternity of the temple of the Flavian family, a temple which will stand "while the suppliant matron shall with prayer and incense propitiate the sweet divinity of the deified Julia."[7] It was in this sanctuary of the consecrated members of the dynasty that the ashes of Julia were laid to rest, and, soon after this poem was published, Phyllis, the nurse of Domitian and of Julia, mingled with the remains of Julia those of the assassinated emperor.[8] The princess, however, was the last of the Flavians to receive apotheosis. Perhaps the temple of the *gens* in Rome was copied elsewhere, for an

1) *Ibid.*, p. 351.

2) *Ibid.*, p. lxxxix.

3) CIL. iii 13524 = Dessau, 8906.

4) CIL. v, 6514.

5) CIL. ix, 1153.

6) *Epigr.* VI, 13. This book was published in 90, so Julia is probably thought of as deified, though the poem may have been written before her death. The statuary, if it is not imaginary, may have been fashioned while Julia was still alive.

7) *Epigr.*, ix, 1, 6—7.

8) Suet., *Dom.*, 17, 3.

inscription from Ilium mentioning a list of gifts has been interpreted as a possible indication of the existence of a *templum gentis Flaviae* at Ilium.[1]

On the cult of the various deified members of the Flavian gens we have some information, in the main inscriptional. The Younger Pliny, however, gives certain features of the worship of Vespasian and Titus, for, in speaking of the deification of Vespasian, Titus and Nerva, he mentions "incense, altars, *pulvinaria* and a *flamen*."[2] Suetonius, too, throws some light on the cult: he tells of a quinquennial contest which Domitian established (as Nero had the *Neronia*) in honor of Jupiter Capitolinus. At this contest, which was modelled after the Greek games, the emperor presided, appropriately clad in Greek style with the half-boots, purple Greek toga, and wearing on his head a golden diadem with images of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva.[3] Near him sat the *sacerdos Dialis* and the college of the *Flaviales* dressed in the same way, except that in their crowns they also had an image of Domitian.[4] Concerning the colleges which cared for the worship of the consecrated Flavians there is considerable confusion and difficulty. Before taking up the views concerning them I give below the material at our disposal:

A. SODALES FLAVIALES.

1. CIL. xiv 2501 — Ager Tusculanus.
2. *Bull. Arch. du Comité* (1917), p. 319 — Khamissa.
3. CIL. iii 6813 — Missirli near Yalowadj.

1) Cf. Cagnat, IGR. iv, 210.

2) *Paneg.*, 11, 3.

3) On his costume cf. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," forthcoming in *Röm. Mitt.*, vol. l (1935).

4) *Dom.*, 4, 4. Just as in the East, the priest of the *divi*, and also of the reigning emperor, is an ἀρχιερεὺς στεφανηφόρος (cf. Kornemann, "Zur Geschichte der antiken Herrscherkulte," *Klio*, i, [1901], p. 116). On the diadems of priests of the imperial cult cf. Hill, "Priester-Diademe," *Jahreshefte d. öst. Archäol. Inst.*, ii (1899), pp. 245—249; Hill, *Catal. of Coins of British Museum, Lycaonia* (1900), p. xvii; Hill, *Anatolian Studies* presented to Sir William Ramsay (1923), p. 224; Brusin, *Notizie degli Scavi* (1923), p. 224 ff.; Rostovzev, *Storia Economica e Sociale dell' Impero Romano* (1933), p. 464, n. 13; Stegmann, *Archäol. Anzeiger* xlv (1930), pp. 1 ff.; Müller, "A Portrait of the Late Roman Empire," *The Museum Journal* (Philadelphia), xxiii (1932), pp. 45—54; Keil, "Vorläufiger Bericht über die Ausgrabungen in Ephesus," *Oest. Jahreshefte*, Beiblatt, xxvii (1931), pp. 40—41.

4. CIL. xiii 1806 — Lugudunum.
5. CIL. xiii 5089 — Aventicum.
6. CIL. vi 1333 — Rome.
7. *Not. d. Scavi* (1911), p. 394 — Rome — a *publicus sodal(ium) Flavial(ium).*
8. CIL. xi 1430 — Pisa — a *XV vir Flavialium.*

B. TITIALES FLAVIALES.

9. Röm. Mitt., xi (1896), p. 253 — from Casalbordino — *(Sodali Titia)li Flaviali.*
10. CIL. xi 5670 — Attidium — *sodalis Titialis (Flavialis).*
11. CIL. xi 5672 — Attidium — *sodalis Titialis (Flavialis).*
12. CIL. vi 1523 — Rome — *Sacerdos Titialis Flavialis.*
13. CIL. vi 2189 — Rome — *kalator sacerdotii Titialium Flavialium.*

C. FLAVIALES TITIALES.

14. CIL. viii 597 — Hr. Machdjuba — *sacerdoti Flaviali Titiali.*
15. CIL. vii 7062 — Cirta (Numidia) — *Sacerdotium Flaviale Titiale.*
16. CIL. vi 1989 — Rome — Fasti cooptationum *(sodaliu)m Flavi(alium Titialium);* perhaps the fragments CIL. vi 2004 to 2009 belong to the same.

D. TITIALIS.

17. CIL. vi 31746 — Rome — *sodalis Titialis.*
18. Besides these inscriptions there is one from Ager Mogontiacensis (CIL. xiii 7253), in which the same man is *sodalis Augustal(is) sod(alis) Flavial(is) sod(alis) Titialis.*

A few points seem fairly certain: the inscription from Pisa (no. 8) indicates that the college of the *Flaviales* consisted of fifteen members called *sodales.* From inscription no. 18 it would seem that there was a *sodalitas Flavialis* distinct from a *sodalitas Titialis,* for there seems to be no good reason to accept Dessau's suggestion that the *sod.* before Titialis was written by mistake.[1] Apparently there were not only *sodales Flaviales* and *sodales Titiales,* but both *sodales* and *sacerdotes Titiales Flaviales* and also *sodales* and *sacerdotes Flaviales Titiales.*

1) Cf. Janssen, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Domitiani* (1919), p. 24.

Various theories have been advanced concerning the colleges: Dessau is of the opinion that the *Flaviales* were assigned to the cult of Vespasian, and that after the apotheosis of Titus his worship was also entrusted to them, whereupon members of the college became known as *sodales Flaviales Titiales*. Sometimes, perhaps because the memory of Titus prevailed over that of Vespasian, *Flaviales* was omitted in the title or *Titiales* was placed before *Flaviales*.[1] Another suggestion has been made by Durham, namely, that there were perhaps four classes of these sodales: (1) those charged with cult of Vespasian — *sodales Flaviales;* (2) those charged with the cult of Titus — *sodales Titiales;* (3) those priests of Vespasian to whom was later entrusted the cult of Titus also — *sodales Flaviales Titiales;* (4) those priests of Titus to whom was entrusted the cult of Vespasian also — *sodales Titiales Flaviales.*[2] Finally Janssen has proposed that the *Flaviales* served the cult of Vespasian, the *Titiales* that of Titus, and that after the extinction of the *Gens Flavia* as ruling dynasty the colleges were combined and called sometimes *Flaviales Titiales* and sometimes *Titiales Flaviales.*[3] Of these theories I am inclined to favor that of Durham. The colleges were, I believe, the foundation of Domitian,[4] and the cult which they served was kept up at least until the close of the second century.[5] The priests were men of the highest rank, but either patrician or plebeian.[6]

In connection with these colleges mention must be made of another institution, namely the *Seviri Flaviales* which were formed in the

1) "De sodalibus Augustalibus," *Eph. Epigr.*, iii (1877), pp. 211—213; Jullian, art. "Flavialis," *Dict. des Ant.*, ii, 2, p. 1188 is not convinced but is inclined to believe these were separate colleges. Riewald, art. "Sacerdotes," *RE.*, II. Reihe, 2. Halbbd. (1920), 1638 agrees that the *Sodales Flaviales* became *Sodales Flaviales Titiales* just as the *Augustales* had become *Augustales Claudiales*, as does Wissowa, *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (1912), p. 565. Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial* (1890), pp. 87—88, and Gsell, *Essai*, p. 51, n. 1, think there was only one college.

2) Apud Newton, *The Epigraphical Evidence for the reigns of Vespasian and Titus, Cornell Studies in Classical Philology*, xvi (1901), p. 95. McFayden, "The Date of the Arch of Titus," *C. J.* xi (1915), p. 137, n. 4, thinks that under Domitian the college was known only as the Sodales Flaviales.

3) *Op. cit.*, p. 24.

4) Cf. Corradi, art. "Domitianus," *Diz. Epigr.*, iv (1922), 2002 and 2017.

5) Cf. Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 96.

6) Cf. Dessau, *Eph. Epigr.*, iii (1877), p. 213.

municipalities on the analogy of the *Seviri Augustales.* The inscriptions in which they are mentioned are the following:

1. CIL., v, 4399 — Brixia
2. CIL., v, 7509 — Aquae Statiellae
3. CIL., v, 7511 — Aquae Statiellae
4. CIL., v, 4968 — Camunni
5. CIL., v, 6353 — Laus Pompeia
6. CIL., v, 6369 — Laus Pompeia
7. CIL., v, 7018 — Augusta Taurinorum
8. CIL., iii, 1768 — Narona
9. CIL., iii, 1835 — Narona
10. CIL., iii, 14624 — Narona
11. CIL., xi, 1063 — Parma
12. CIL., xi, 4639 — Tuder
13. CIL., xii, 1159 — Carpentorate.

In nos. 1—3 and 11 mention is made of a *sevir Augustalis Flavialis,* in nos. 4—7 of a *sevir et Flavialis,* in no. 13 of a *sevir Augustalis et Flavialis,* in no. 12 of a *sexvir et Augustalis et Flavialis,* in 8—9 of a *sevir Augustalis Flavialis Titialis Nervialis,* and no. 10 has been restored as *Aug(ustale) F(laviale) T(itiale) (N[erviale]).* Evidently there was a tendency to combine the service of various deified emperors, so that the same person would be *Augustalis* and also *Flavialis,* or, as at Narona, *sevir Augustalis Flavialis Titialis Nervialis.*[1] These inscriptions from Narona are evidence of the same phenomenon which is found in the nomenclature of the *sodales.*

1) Cf. Newton, *op. cit.*, pp. 97—98.

CHAPTER V

DOMITIA: HER DIVINE HONORS

One member of Domitian's family failed to receive apotheosis by outliving him, namely his wife Domitia Longina, the daughter of Cn. Domitius Corbulo. She had been first married to L. Aelius Lamia, and then in A.D. 70 to Domitian, to whom she bore one son in 73. History has not dealt kindly with Domitia's character. It was said that she had improper relations with her husband's brother, Titus, though she swore that this was false.[1] When Domitian became emperor, he secured for her the title of *Augusta* before 1 Oct., 81, and harmonious relations existed between Domitia and the emperor. She proved, however, to be as faithless to her second husband as she was said to have been to her first one, for it was discovered that the famous actor Paris was her lover. Domitian had Paris executed and intended to take similar vengeance on Domitia, though he was dissuaded by Flavius Ursus and finally banished her, probably in 82 or 83.[2] But the emperor could not bear to be separated from her and soon took her back again on the pretense that the people demanded it.[3] The reconciliation, which probably occurred in 83 or 84, was accompanied, according to Suetonius, by a statement on the part of Domitian that he had recalled Domitia to his *pulvinar* or 'sacred couch.'[4] Juvenal, who refers to the empress as "meretrix Augusta"[5] in the same poem alludes to the alleged remark of the emperor:

"foeda lupanaris tulit ad *pulvinar* odorem" (vs. 132).

As we have seen (p. 73), she is celebrated on her coinage as the mother of the deified Caesar, the son whom she had borne to Domitian and who had died in infancy. Martial, imitating Virgil's

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1) Suet., *Tit.*, 10; Dio, *Epit.*, lxvi, 26.
2) cf. Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 17.
3) Suet., *Dom.*, 3; Dio, lxvii, 3.
4) *Dom.*, 13.
5) *Sat.*, vi, 118.

Messianic *Eclogue,* had expressed the wish that she give birth to another divine child who would be his father's successor as ruler of Rome.[1] The Arval brothers included her in their vows for the health and welfare of the emperor and the ruling house,[2] and during her lifetime her birthday, like that of Domitian, was celebrated by a freedman.[3] The populace, evidently inspired by Domitian's title of "Dominus," saluted her as "Domina,"[4] and Statius, who did not hesitate to identify the emperor with Jupiter, logically enough called her *Romana Juno.*[5]

The Jewish historian, Josephus, speaks of Domitia as his "benefactress,"[6] and the people of Brycus (Insula Carpathus) honored her as a goddess and probably in the role of their benefactress.[7]

Elsewhere in the East the empress is considered as divine: at Termessus mention is made of "a priestess of the goddess Augusta Domitia;"[8] again, a coin of Smyrna designates her as divine, as the "goddess Domitia Augusta,"[9] and apparently represents her as Demeter, standing r., veiled, holding in her l. cornucopiae, and resting with her r. on a sceptre.[10]

Such an identification of empresses with Demeter is a very common phenomenon,[11] of which there are other examples in the case of

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1) *Epigr.,* vi, 3.

2) CIL., vi, 2060, 2064, 2065, 2067, 2068, 2072, 2073 B. Interest in the welfare of the Flavian emperors and their house or honor paid thereto is shown by numerous inscriptions: Dessau 6049 (a dedication made "Paci aeternae domus imp. Vespasiani Caesaris Aug. liberorumque eius"); IGR., iii, 37 (τῷ σεβαστῷ τῶν [α]ὐτοκρ[α]τόρων ο[ἴ]κωι . . . probably referring to Vespasian and Titus); IG., xii, 1, 58 (ref. to Titus καὶ τὸν σύμπαντα οἶκον αὐτοῦ); IGR., i, 1286 (in behalf of Titus and Domitian "and all his house"); *J.R.S.* xviii (1928), p. 152 (for the safety of Domitian "and all his house"); IGR., iii, 1094 (for the safety τῶν κυρίων αὐτοκρατόρων — probably Domitian and Domitia); IGR., i, 1289 (for the τύχη of Domitian and for all his house).

3) CIL., x, 444.

4) Suet., *Dom.,* 13.

5) *Silv.,* III, iv, 18.

6) *Vita,* 429.

7) IG., xii, 1, 995 = IGR., iv, 1152: Δομειτίαν Θεὰν Σεβα[στὰν] . . . [εὐεργέτιδα].

8) IGR., iii, 444.

9) Münsterberg, "Die römischen Kaisernamen der griechischen Münzen," *Numismatische Zeitschrift,* N.F. xix (1926), p. 13.

10) Head, *Catalogue of the Greek coins of Ionia* (1892), p. 273, no. 305 and pl. xxix, 1.

11) Cf. Riewald, *op. cit.,* pp. 305—309.

Domitia. On Alexandrian coins of the fourth year of Domitian's reign (84/85) appears the bust of Domitia Augusta decorated with crown of corn-ears, by which the empress is compared with or assimilated to the goddess of fertility.[1] On other reverses of the year are found further references to Demeter, namely basket of fruit, corn-ears, poppy, and sailing-boat.[2] In the eleventh year (91/92) Domitia is represented on the coins as Euthenia[3] enthroned with a standing Demeter at her side.[4] As Vogt points out,[5] accompanying types are the caduceus and calathus, and types of the Pharos and of Isis Pharia belong to the same theme, inasmuch as they protected the transport of the Egyptian grain to Rome. A reverse type of the Roman coinage of Domitia which was minted in Asia shows Ceres with corn-ears and sceptre,[6] and a coin of Tralles in Lydia has a bust of Domitia on the obverse, while on the reverse is represented Demeter with poppy, corn-ear, and torch.[7] Another Lydian coin, from the town of Bagis, shows Ceres with the features of Domitia.[8]

Another deity to whom Domitia is assimilated is *Concordia,* or rather *Concordia Augusta,* who symbolized the harmonious relations within the imperial household. At Thyssanus in Rhodiorum Peraea honor is done Δομετίᾳ Θ[ε]ᾷ Σεβαστῇ Ὁμονοίᾳ.[9] In the Roman coinage this association is carried out similarly: one coin of Domitia shows her on the reverse as Concordia with patera and sceptre and sacrificing over an altar;[10] another of her reverse types shows a peacock, the bird of Juno symbolic of harmony in wedlock,[11] either with the explanatory inscription *Concordia Augusta*[12] or without it.[13] In Prusias on the Hypius a coin was struck showing

1) Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (1924), ii, p. 18 and i, p. 48.

2) *Ibid.*, i, p. 48.

3) Cf. Waser, art. "Euthenia," *RE.*, 11. Halbbd. (1907), 1498—1499.

4) Vogt, ii, p. 20 and i, p. 53.

5) P. 53.

6) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, pp. 414 and xcvi.

7) Head, *Catalogue of Greek Coins of Lydia* (1901), p. 346, no. 135.

8) Imhoof-Blumer, *Lyd. St.*, p. 47, no. 3 (cited by Riewald, *op. cit.*, p. 306, no. 70).

9) Ditt., *Syll.*[3], 819.

10) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, pp. xcvi and 413, no. 503.

11) Cf. Keller, *Die antike Tierwelt,* ii, p. 152.

12) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, p. 311, nos. 60—61 and p. 350, no. 249.

13) *Ibid.,* p. 312, no. 67.

a head of Domitia on the obverse, and on the reverse Ὁμόνοια Σεβαστή standing to the l., leaning on her spear and holding some corn-ears in her right hand.[1]

The coinage, furthermore, calls attention to her devotion to her deified son through types of *Pietas Augusta*.[2] She is likewise associated with the imperial fortune, Fortuna Augusta,[3] and identified with Venus as *Venus Augusta*.[4] It has, besides, been suggested that Domitia may be represented as Diana in a statue in the Museo Pio-Clementino in Rome,[5] though Corradi, rightly, I believe, questions this suggestion.[6]

There seem to have been at least two temples erected in which Domitia was honored, one during her lifetime and the other after her death. The one temple is shown upon a coin of Domitian and Domitia struck at Laodiceia in Phrygia: on the obverses their busts are shown facing; on the reverse is represented a "temple-front of four columns raised on four steps, the frieze inscribed ΕΠΙΝΕΙΚΙΟΣ; within stand two figures face to face, supporting a trophy; the figure on the r. (the emperor?), in military dress, rests with l. on spear; the figure on the l. is feminine (the empress?), and rests with r. on sceptre."[7] If the emperor and empress are shown in the temple, I am inclined to believe that both were worshipped at Laodiceia, a fact which would not be surprising since we know that Domitia had a priestess at Termessus.

The other temple was built in A.D. 140 at Gabii "in honorem memoriae domus Domitiae Augustae Cn. Domiti Corbulonis fil(iae)" by the late empress' freedman, Cn. Domitius Polycarpus, and his wife Europe. These two also established a foundation to provide

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1) Waddington, *Recueil Général des Monnaies Grecques d'Asie Mineure*, I, 4 (1912), p. 604, no. 11 and pl. ciii, no. 27.

2) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, pp. xcvi and 413, nos. 501—502; also p. 312, nos. 65—66.

3) *Ibid.*, p. lxxxix and 312, no. 64.

4) *Ibid.*, pp. xcviii and 353, nos. 256—257.

5) Clarac, *Musée de Sculpture*, v (1839—1841), pl. 940, no. 2407 and Beurlier, *Le culte impérial*, p. 42.

6) *Diz. Epigr.* ii (1922), p. 2044.

7) Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia* (1906), p. 307, no. 185 and pl. xxxvii, 6.

for celebrations which were to be held on Domitia's birthday, the eleventh of February.[1]

The fact that Domitia survived her husband, who was the victim of a plot of which she is reported to have been cognizant,[2] and also the end of the Flavian dynasty excluded her from the Flavian heaven. The worship which was accorded her after death was not public but private, not due to a decree of the Roman Senate, but, to the devotion of a freedman and his wife.

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1) CIL., xiv, 2795 = Dessau, 272; cf. Stein, art. "Domitia Longina," *RE.* 9. Halbbd. (1903), 1514.

2) Dio, lxvii, 15; Victor, *Caes.*, 11; *Epit.*, 11.

CHAPTER VI

DOMITIAN, DIVINE MONARCH

Domitian, like Caligula,[1] is portrayed in our sources, which represent the senatorial tradition, as more or less of a monster, and his divinity is one feature of his reign which is most bitterly attacked. It should, however, be recalled that there was a standing grievance which the Senators nursed against the Flavians, namely, their establishment of a dynasty.[2] The armies had elevated Vespasian to the throne, and the troops and unquestionably the ordinary citizens of the empire desired a ruler who would be succeeded by his son, for in 69 the Roman world had seen enough of rival claimants and civil strife. The Senate had no course left but to submit to the choice of the armies, but it had opposed Vespasian's desire to found a dynasty so stubbornly that he cried out before that body that either his sons would succeed him or no one.[3] The short reign of Titus, his affability and his consideration for the Senate apparently mollified the feelings of that order. When Domitian, a man of quite a different nature from that of his brother, mounted the throne, he encountered of wave of opposition. The fact that the first part of his reign is described as having been, in part at least, marked by many excellent features may perhaps indicate that

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1) Cf. Balsdon, *The Emperor Gaius* (1934), for an example of the manner in which the senatorial tradition defamed Caligula.

2) Cf. R. Syme, "The Imperial Finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan," *J.R.S.*, xx (1930), p. 63: "It is not likely that the Flavian rule had been anything but popular [in the provinces]: but the provinces have no spokesman, save that Jew of Alexandria who, a hundred years later, celebrates Domitian as a Prince of Peace whom all men worship and gladly obey — a verdict the reverse of that of Pliny and Tacitus, and equally comprehensible (Or. Sibyll. XII 126)." On p. 70 Syme points out how Pliny called Domitian an *immanissima belua*, while Mommsen has praised him as one of the most careful administrators who held the imperial office.

3) Suet., *Vesp.*, 25.

the emperor tried with some success to keep on good terms with the senatorial class.

Soon, however, it became apparent that Domitian was relying upon the army, whose pay he increased, and that he was stressing the dynastic idea to an extent to which neither his father nor brother had gone. His establishment of the Flavian heaven and the buildings erected for the cult of his deified kin must have convinced the Senate that he was as determined as his father had been to keep the rule of the Empire within his family.[1] As the son of a god and brother of *divi*, as the third ruler of a dynasty, he became more the divine monarch, and there was a departure from the simplicity and unpretentiousness of Vespasian and the open affability and respect for the Senate shown by Titus.

Domitian himself became the object of worship. Such reverence of the reigning monarch was not new, for it was already manifest under Julius Caesar and Augustus. What Domitian did was to permit and encourage to an excessive degree homage which had been shown — generally with more restraint — to his predecessors. In other words, his reign marks a departure from the *moderatio* of Augustus, Tiberius, Claudius, Vespasian, and a return to the ways of Caligula and to some extent of Nero, though without the complete abandonment to Greek ways which Nero had displayed. The greater the resentment of the Senate, which openly outdid itself in servility, the more the absolute character of Domitian's reign increased. The flattery of the Senate was paralleled by that of the court poets who portray the ruler as dear to the gods and to mankind. Thus Statius described Domitian as beloved of heaven,[2] the *cura deorum* (*Silv.* IV, 2, 15), and says that he will come "with the favor of heaven" (*Silv.* IV, 3, 125), if Sauter's emendation of the text is correct.[3] It is possible that the idea that the monarch is the darling of the gods arose in part from the Egyptian formula by which the ruler was designated as "the beloved of Ptah," though the expression in Statius may have arisen independently through the phraseology of Roman court poetry.[4]

Titus had been considered as the favorite of his people, and

1) Cf. Gsell, *op. cit.*, pp. 53–54.
2) *Silv.*, I, 4, 4: es caelo, dis es, Germanice, cordi.
3) Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 25—26.
4) *Ibid.*, pp. 26—27.

Martial ascribes to the Romans a similar affection for Domitian, though certainly without sincerity as far as the Senators were concerned. After describing how the emperor was *worshipped (venerantur)* with long sustained applause in the theatre Martial adds:

"Nullum Roma ducem, nec te sic, Caesar, amavit:
te quoque iam non plus, ut velit ipsa, potest (VIII, 11, 7–8)."

Again, Martial, in praising Domitian's protection of infants against the pander, writes:

"dilexere prius pueri iuvenesque senesque,
at nunc infantes te quoque, Caesar, amant (IX, 8, 9–10)."

In general the Flavians had shown a reaction from Nero's enthusiasm for all things Greek and a return to the Roman character of Augustus' reign. They evinced marked respect for the Roman state religion, and, in general, interested themselves but little in the Eastern cults, excepting, of course, that of Serapis and Isis, to whom they were, as has been indicated above, under special obligations.[1] Domitian manifested an interest, similar to that of Augustus, in restoring and supporting the national Roman religion. The building operations of the new prince were changing the aspect of the city, which was growing more magnificent than before. Martial frequently expresses this idea, which has an Augustan ring, as in *Ep.* VI, 4, where he speaks of *tot nascentia templa, tot renata;* like the phoenix, Rome has laid off old age and assumed the features of her *praeses* (*Ep.* V, 7), and the poet asks under what *dux* Rome has been fairer or greater (V, 19, line 5). The age of our sires, writes Martial (VIII, 56), has yielded to our time and Rome grows greater with her leader. The prince respects and restores the old while adding the new:

"Sanctorum nobis miracula reddis avorum
nec pateris, Caesar, saecula cana mori,
cum veteres Latiae ritus renovantur harenae
et pugnat virtus simpliciore manu.
sic priscis servatur honos te praeside templis
et casa tam culto sub Iove numen habet;
sic nova dum condis, revocas, Auguste, priora:
debentur quae sunt quaeque fuere tibi (VIII, 80)."

1) Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 76, points out that Judaism had made great progress since the accession of the Flavians.

The temples erected to the *divi* of his family and those to Minerva are exceptionally noteworthy, but other gods are favored by the prince. One deity particularly esteemed by the emperor was Jupiter, to whom he was deeply indebted. It was on the Capitoline, sacred to Jupiter, that Domitian had found shelter during the civil war. Already during his father's reign Domitian erected a *sacellum* to *Jupiter Conservator* with an altar on which were reliefs showing his adventures during the civil war.[1] The god is also celebrated on the reverse type of *aurei* and *denarii* of 81—84 which show an eagle on a thunderbolt with the inscription *Juppiter Conservator.*[2] Jupiter Conservator himself also appears frequently on the *as* with thunderbolt and spear or thunderbolt and sceptre as attributes.[3]

The great temple of Capitoline Jupiter, which had been restored after the civil war, was destroyed in the disastrous fire of 80. Domitian rebuilt it at a cost of 12,000 talents, and it was dedicated in 82.[4] A front view of this temple showing the statues of the Capitoline triad within appears on the reverse of a tetradrachm of this year with the inscription *Capit. Restit.*[5] He likewise instituted for Jupiter of the Capitoline a quinquennial contest with musical, equestrian, and gymnastic competitions, at which he presided in Greek garb wearing on his head a golden crown with likenesses of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva; with him were the *flamen Dialis* and the college of the *Flaviales,* who were dressed like the emperor, except that in their crowns his image was joined to those of the deities of the Capitoline triad.[6] Mattingly (p. xciv) believes that the types of Minerva and owl of the *semis*[7] refer to the Capitoline *agon* "in which the honour of the goddess was prominent."

Again, Jupiter was honored by a temple on the Capitoline dedicated to him as Jupiter *Custos,* and in it was a statue of the god represented holding the emperor in his lap.[8] The Flavians evidently

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1) Tac., *Hist.,* iii, 74; cf. Platner and Ashby, p. 292.
2) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, p. 309, nos. 51—53.
3) *Ibid.,* pp. 360, 366, 375, 378, and 384.
4) Platner and Ashby, p. 300.
5) Mattingly, B.M C. ii, p. 351, no. 251.
6) Suet., *Dom.,* 4.
7) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, p. 379, no. 369 and p. 391, no. 418.
8) Tac., *Hist.,* iii, 74 and Suet., *Dom.,* 5; cf. Platner and Ashby, p. 292.

looked upon Jupiter as their protector against plots and danger. During Vespasian's reign coins of the emperor[1] and of Titus[2] show a reverse type of Jupiter Custos sacrificing from a patera and holding a sceptre. Domitian's coinage, too, shows the god with thunderbolt and sceptre, or Victory and sceptre.[3] It is possible that Domitian restored the temple of Jupiter Stator.[4] The god is celebrated as *Victor,* seated holding Victory and sceptre on numerous coins of Domitian;[5] on coins of 88—89 the type of Jupiter Victor also bears the legend *Iovis Virtuti.*[6] With such favors done Jupiter by the emperor it is no wonder that Martial represents the deity as unable to repay the imperial gifts (*Epigr.*, VI, 10) or has the god say to the poet who has asked Domitian for money: "Ille dabit qui mihi templa dedit (VI, 10, 2)." Jupiter and Minerva were the patron deities of the reign of Domitian.

Other gods, to a lesser degree than Minerva and Jupiter, were the objects of the emperor's favor. The temple of Apollo Palatinus, the Atrium Vestae, the temple of Castor, the temple of Isis, and perhaps the temple of Augustus were restored.[7] The *arae incendii Neronis* were dedicated to Neptune, the temple of Janus Quadrifrons was built, the temple of Fortuna Redux was erected in 93 after Domitian's return from the German war, and perhaps the emperor also constructed the *porticus* of the *dei consentes.*[8] Indeed, Domitian was under special obligations to Isis, for during the civil war he had escaped from the Capitol in the guise of a priest of Isis, while the family was in general under obligation to the god Serapis, who had served Vespasian's cause during the civil war. The old Iseum Serapeum had been burnt down in 80, and when it was rebuilt it appears on the coinage as a tetrastyle temple.[9] In the Egyptian

1) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, pp. 49, nos. 276—279 and xxxix.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 53, nos. 305–309.

3) *Ibid.*, pp. xciv, 380 and 388.

4) Platner and Ashby, p. 304. Perhaps, too, the temple of Jupiter Feretrius is shown on an *aureus* of 95 (Mattingly, p. 343 no. 229 and p. lxxxviii).

5) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, pp. 362; 369, nos. 327—328; 380, no. 373; 386; 388, nos. 406—407; 398, nos. 439—442; 403, nos. 464 and 464A; 406, nos. 474—475; 412, no. 5.

6) *Ibid.*, pp. xciv—xcv and 388 n.

7) Cf. Platner and Ashby, pp. 18, 59, 103, 284, and 63.

8) *Ibid.*, pp. 30, 280, 218, and 421.

9) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, p. 345, no. 238 and lxxxviii.

coinage we find Zeus-Serapis or Helios-Serapis as Φιλοκαῖσαρ, as the ally of the emperor.[1]

The imperial coinage indicates other divinities in which some interest was shown. A temple of Cybele is represented on *denarii* of 94—96,[2] perhaps because of the popularity of that cult with the people.[3] Mars Victor also appears on the coins,[4] usually, no doubt, with reference to the emperor's success in war. There is also a type showing Apollo on the obverse, and on the reverse the lyre, tripod, with cauldron and python, or raven on a branch,[5] perhaps "an allusion in advance" to the Saecular games.[6] The *pulvinaria* series of 81—82 are merely a continuation of types of Titus' reign.[7]

The abstractions also figure to some extent in the imperial issues. The good luck of the emperor, the *Fortuna Augusti,* is a frequent type,[8] and the type of an altar with the inscription *Saluti Augusti S. C.,* from the senatorial mint is an expression of the Senate's interest in the health and welfare of Domitian.[9] The altar, it is suggested, was dedicated by the Senate, perhaps on the occasion of the emperor's return from the German wars.[10] The *Virtus Augusti* on the coinage is courage in warfare, the emperor's martial spirit,[11] and the *Victoria Augusti* is shown in various types: advancing

1) Cf. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen,* i, p. 49.

2) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, p. 346, nos. 239—240.

3) *Ibid.,* p. lxxxviii.

4) *Ibid.,* p. 360, no. 287; p. 365, nos. 308—309; p. 373, no. 350; pp. 378 and 382; p. 384, no. 392; p. 418, no. 513; p. 419, no. 517.

5) *Ibid.,* p. 367, nos. 318—319; p. 368, no. 320; p. 401, nos. 453—457; pp. 405 and 409.

6) *Ibid.,* p. xciv.

7) *Ibid.,* p. lxxxix and pp. 297—304.

8) *Ibid.,* pp. 305, nos. 34—35; 365; 373, no. 349; 374; 378; 382, nos. 382—383; 383, nos. 386—387; 384, no. 388; 386, no. 397; 387, no. 401; 390, no. 412; 391, no. 416; 396; 399, nos. 444—445; 400, no. 448; 404, no. 467; 407, no. 477; 408; cf. p. lxxxv.

9) *Ibid.,* p. 359; 361, nos. 291—293; 367, nos. 315—317; 375, no. 358; 376, no. 359; 378; 385; 400; 412, no. 6. Cf. a type of Salus on a throne with corn-ears and poppy (?), p. 309, no. 54.

10) *Ibid.,* p. xc.

11) *Ibid.,* p. xci and pp. 360; 366, no. 313; 374, no. 352 A; 379; 383, no. 384; 385, nos. 393—394; 387; 388, nos. 404—405; 390, nos. 413—414; 391, no. 417; 398; 399, nos. 446—447; 400, nos. 451—452; 404, no. 468; 405; 408, nos. 479—480.

or seated with wreath and palm;[1] advancing holding a legionary eagle,[2] advancing holding a shield inscribed *SPQR*,[3] inscribing with a stylus in the right hand a shield set on a trophy upon a palm-trunk and holding a palm-branch in left hand,[4] standing with foot on a helmet and inscribing *DE GER* on a shield set on a trophy, with captive at foot of trophy,[5] advancing with wreath and trophy,[6] standing on a globe and holding a wreath and trophy,[7] crowning the emperor who holds a thunderbolt[8] or who stands beside Minerva.[9]

The goddess Pax does not figure as prominently in the coinage of Domitian, who was desirous of military laurels, as she had under his father and brother. She does, however, appear in several types: on the reverse of a dupondius of 81 she is shown standing with branch and caduceus and resting her left arm on a column;[10] another type portrays the goddess in the act of burning arms taken from the defeated enemy,[11] a type taken from Vespasian's time.[12] An *as* of 86 shows an altar with priests holding paterae to r. and left with the inscription PACIS S. C.[13]

In the poets, however, Domitian is duly praised as "peacemaker," a characteristic title of the savior in Egyptian and Jewish prophecy.[14] Silius Italicus pictures the emperor as εἰρηνοποιός, as the *pacator*

1) *Ibid.*, p. 309, nos. 50 A and 55; 310, nos. 56—57; 314, nos. 76—77; 319, no. 92; 320, no. 95; 322, nos. 108—109; 323, no. 110; 324; 325, no. 126; 326, nos. 127—128; 331, no. 156; 333, no. 170; 338; 342.

2) *Ibid.*, p. 359 and 361, no. 290.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 367; 375, nos. 355—356; 378, no. 366.

4) *Ibid.*, p. 366, no. 312; 374; 376; 378, no. 367; 383; 385.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 362; 370, nos. 330—331; 376; 380, nos. 374—375; 389.

6) *Ibid.*, p. 412, no. 4.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 407.

8) *Ibid.*, p. 377; 381, no. 381; 386; 389, no. 410; 399, no. 443; 403, nos. 465—466; 406, no. 476.

9) *Ibid.*, p. 404.

10) *Ibid.*, p. 355, no. 267. The mint of Lugudunum in 81 and 82 strikes a type of Pax holding branch and cornucopiae with the inscription PAX AVGVST. S. C. (Mattingly, pp. 418 and 419, no. 516) and in 82 a type of Pax holding caduceus and branch (Mattingly, p. 419).

11) *Ibid.*, p. 362, no. 295; 369; 370, no. 329.

12) *Ibid.*, p. xlvi.

13) *Ibid.*, p. 384.

14) Cf. Windisch, "Friedensbringer-Gottessöhne," *Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft* xxiv (1925), 240 ff. and Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 17—19.

whose care "keeps off the unrestrained fury for ravaging all things."[1] Martial, too, refers to the Domitianic period as one of peace; in contrasting it with the age of Cicero and the civil wars Martial writes:

"Nulla ducum feritas, nulla est insania ferri;
paci frui certa laetitiaque licet (IX, 70, 7–8)."

This peace is due to the emperor, the *dux,* according to Martial, who wrote the following apophoreton to accompany a sickle:

"Pax me certa ducis placidos curvavit in usus.
agricolae nunc sum, militis ante fui (XIV, 34)."

And among the feats of Domitian, the new and greater Alcides, is his gift of peace:

"Templa deis, mores populo dedit, *otia ferro* (Martial, IX, 101, 21)."

Statius, likewise, praises the ruler as *paci bonus* (*Silv.* IV, 3, 134), though at the same time not neglecting the military prowess of Domitian, *timendus armis.*

Aeternitas standing and holding the heads of Sun and Moon with the inscription *Aeternitati August. S. C.* appears as a reverse of the *dupondius* and of the *as.*[2] Mattingly (p. xciv) explains the type as marking "the worship of the Flavian family," though it may have suggested at the same time an "eternal" reign for the ruler and his line.

Other types bear evidence to the emperor's interest in the prosperity of the people and in agriculture and finance: *Moneta Augusti* with scales and cornucopiae[3] is a type which apparently refers to Domitian's maintenance of sound money.[4] Types of *Fides Publica* with corn-ears, poppy, and fruits[5] are probably best translated by the English word "credit,"[6] and the prince's care for Italian agriculture may explain the agricultural attributes, as Mattingly has suggested. Types of *Annona* and of Ceres, either alone or sometimes

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1) *Punica,* xiv, 684 ff.

2) Mattingly, B.M.C. ii, p. 364; 372, no. 346; 374, no. 353.

3) *Ibid.,* p. 359; 361, nos. 288—289; 367, no. 314; 375; 378, no. 365; 382; 384, nos. 389—391; 387, no. 402; 388, no. 403; 391; 397; 400, nos. 449—450; 404, nos. 469—470; 408.

4) Cf. Mattingly, p. xc.

5) *Ibid.,* p. 360; 365, nos. 306–307; 373, no. 348; 374; 377, nos. 363—364; 382; 383, no. 385; 386; 387, nos 399—400; 390; 391.

6) *Ibid.,* p. xci.

together, are frequently struck,[1] and refer to Domitian's care of the grain supply and of agriculture.[2] A type of *Felicitas Publica* with caduceus and cornucopiae stands for the prosperity of the time.[3]

The poet Martial touches upon the idea of *felicitas* expressed in the coinage: No ages, he states, can be placed before that of Domitian (V, 19, 1—2) and the past ages of Rome yield to his own time (VIII, 56, 1). Statius goes beyond Martial and says that the legendary age of gold is outdone by the bounty of his own day (*Silv.* I, 6, 39—42); the emperor is better and more powerful than Nature, and if he ruled in Heaven as on earth, the climate of the lands would become more temperate (*Silv.* IV, 3, 135—138); if he were only all-powerful, mortal life would be longer and Death would be imprisoned (*Silv.* V, 1, 165—169). The conception of the monarch as founder of a golden age had long been associated with the ruler cult.[4]

In connection with his policy of preserving traditions Domitian celebrated in 88 the *Ludi Saeculares,* taking no account of those held by Claudius in 48 but going back to those of Augustus in 17 B.C.[5] The games are amply commemorated in the imperial coinage.[6]

It is not surprising that the cities of the East celebrated Domitian as a god during his lifetime as they had done before in the case of preceding emperors or Hellenistic kings. Ephesus received in his reign its first imperial Neocoria, a temple and cult of Domitian as a Θεός. This is shown by a series of inscriptions which were on the bases of statues or altars of the emperor,[7] statues or altars set up by the cities of the province of Asia in Ephesos for the provincial temple of the Σεβαστοί, for it is probable that Domitian shared the temple worship with his wife Domitia and his consecrated father and brother. Two coins of the reign with their inscriptions

1) *Ibid.*, p. 360; 365, nos. 304—305; 368, nos. 321, 321 A, 322; 323—324; 373, no. 347; 374; 376, no. 360; 377; 379, no. 370; 380, no. 371; 382; 389; 391, no. 415; 410, no. 492—493; 418, no. 515; 419, no. 520.

2) *Ibid.*, p. xcii.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 382.

4) Cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 19—24.

5) *Suet., Dom.*, 4.

6) Mattingly, pp. lxxxvii, xcv, xcvi.

7) These are cited by J. Keil, "Die erste Kaiserneokorie von Ephesos," *Num. Zeitschr.* iii (1919), pp. 117—118.

indicate that a new temple has been erected, since the first Neocoria at Ephesus was apparently considered as that of Artemis.[1] Remains of the temple have been discovered in recent excavations.[2] There was in the temple an acrolithic colossal cult statue of Domitian four times life-size, and of this the head and a lower arm have been found.[3] After the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian the temple was transferred by senatorial decree to the cult of Vespasian, while the name of Domitian, called "god" on the dedicatory inscriptions, was erased.[4]

The Greeks had long been accustomed to bestow upon their rulers the divine titles of savior σωτήρ and benefactor εὐεργέτης.[5] Domitian was honored in the same way: at Brycus on the island of Carpathus the people called him their σωτήρ and εὐεργέτης,[6] and in an inscription from Limyra it is possible that he may have been referred to as the "savior of the world."[7] Martial, at any rate, thrice designates Domitian in exactly that way as *rerum certa salus* (II, 91), as *rerum felix tutela salusque* (V, 1, 7), and *rerum prima salus et una* (VIII, 66). Martial expresses the same idea that is found in the prayers of the Arval brethren, namely, that upon the welfare of the emperor depends the well-being of the world.[8] An inscription from near Caposele in Lucania records a foundation, made by Lucius Domitius Phaon, in favor of the god Silvanus. In connection with the cult of the god provision is made for celebrations *pro salute optum[i] principis et domini* on the birthdays of Domitian and of Domitia.[9]

Temnus stuck a coin type on which Domitian is named Θεός,[10] and similarly the demos in an inscription from Chersonesus names Domitian

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1) *Ibid.*, pp. 118—119.

2) J. Keil, *Jahreshefte des öst. archäol. Instituts* xxvii (1932), Beiblatt, pp. 54 ff.

3) Cf. R. Schütz, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes und Kaiser Domitian* (1933), p. 19.

4) Cf. Keil, "Die erste Kaiserneokorie von Ephesos," *Num. Zeitschr.* lii (1919), pp. 119—120 and Schütz, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

5) Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 4—16 deals with these titles and cites considerable literature on them.

6) IGR., IV, 1151.

7) IGR., III, 729: σωτῆρι] τοῦ κ[ό]σμο[υ. This is perhaps Flavian in date.

8) Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 11—16.

9) Dessau, 3546.

10) Munsterberg, *Num. Zeitschr.*, N.F. XIX (1926), p. 12.

Θεός.[1] At Laodicea ad Lycum an inscription records a dedication Δ[ὶ] μεγίσ[τῳ] Σ[ω]τῆρι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι [Δ ω μ ι τ ι α ν] ῶι.[2] At Termessus there was a priest of the emperor,[3] and at Ilium an index of gifts may refer to contributions for the construction of a *gentis Flaviae templum*.[4] Domitian's likeness on coins of the nomes in Egypt is decorated with a wreath of corn-ears.[5]

At Rome — as elsewhere in the empire — Domitian was the object of private worship, though outside of the city his cult might be provincial or municipal. In Rome the Capitoline seems to have been a place where special worship was rendered to the monarch. Suetonius states that he suffered no statues to be set up in his honor on the Capitol except of gold and silver and of a fixed weight,[6] and the Younger Pliny tells how under the last of the Flavians "all the approaches, all the steps, and the whole court of the temple were agleam — or rather defiled — with gold and silver when the sacred statues of the gods were filthy from being mingled with the statues of an unclean prince. Huge flocks of victims were sacrificed to Domitian when the images of that most savage despot were worshipped with as much blood of victims as he himself was shedding human blood."[7] The statues of an emperor set up in a temple might be considered as purely ornamental, and again they might, like those of Domitian, be looked upon as ἀγάλματα, as cult statues, the objects of worship.[8] Often the ancients seem to have found it difficult to separate the honor to the mortal and divine cult.[9]

In front of the Palace, apparently, statues of gold or silver were

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1) IGR., I, 862.

2) IGR., IV, 846.

3) IGR., III, 445.

4) IGR., IV, 210.

5) Vogt, *Die Alexandrinischen Münzen* i (1924), p. 62.

6) *Dom.*, 13; Dio, *Epit.*, lxvii, 8, 1 says that almost the whole world under Domitian's sway was filled with his statues and images made of silver and gold.

7) *Paneg.* 52.

8) For this distinction between statues as *simulacra* and *ornamenta*, cf. Suet. *Tib.*, 26 and Scott, "The Significance of Statues in Precious Metals in Emperor Worship," *T.A.P.A.* lxii (1931), pp. 101—123.

9) Cf. Nock, Σύνναος Θεός, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xli (1930), pp. 50 ff. and Alföldi, Die Ausgestaltung des monarchischen Zeremoniells am römischen Kaiserhofe, *Röm. Mitt.*, xlix (1934), pp. 65—66.

also probably erected, to judge from Martial's description of the gleam from many a likeness of the ruler:

Inde sacro veneranda petes Palatia clivo,
plurima qua summi fulget imago ducis (I, 70, 5—6).

Indeed, Martial represents the abode of the emperor as a sacred spot, as a temple: in the preface to his eighth book of *Epigrams* he writes, "Omnes quidem libelli mei, domine, quibus tu famam, id est vitam, dedisti, tibi *supplicant*. . . Hic tamen, qui operis nostri octavus inscribitur, occasione *pietatis* frequentius fruitur. . . Cum pars libri et maior et melior ad maiestatem sacri nominis tui alligata sit, meminerit *non nisi religiosa purificatione lustratos accedere ad templa debere*." Again, he compares the Palace to a temple (VII, 56), refers to the *limina sanctioris aulae* (V, 6, 8), and thus charges his book, which is about to enter the imperial abode:

"Disce verecundo sanctius ore loqui (VIII, i, 2)."

The admonition was suitable for conduct in a temple.

There was doubtless considerable lip-service to the new god on earth, the emperor who was worshipped, as Martial says, by the barbarian Decebalus (V, 3, 6) and the Roman Carus (IX, 24, 6). Certainly the subservient sacrificed upon altars to Domitian.[1] To such practice it seems that Martial refers in the line,

"Omnis et ad reducem dum litat ara Iovem (VIII, 15, 2),"

if *Iovem* is to be understood as meaning Domitian-Jupiter. Nor was it a great step for the poet to bid even the Muses give pious incense and victims to Augustus (Domitian) (VIII, 66, 1—2). And poetic flattery could describe Domitian's confidants — like Abascantus, as *ministri*.[2] The cult was apparently private in character and it disappeared when senatorial vengeance caused the statues of precious metal to be thrown down and melted.[3]

In view of the absolute character of Domitian's government and his abject flattery by Senate and individuals it is not surprising that he was frequently called sacred. Oaths were taken by the genius of the most sacred *(sacratissimus)* emperor,[4] and by his

1) Pliny, *Paneg.* 52, 7.
2) Statius, *Silv.* V, 1, 239.
3) Dio, lxviii, i, i and Suet., *Dom.*, 23, 1.
4) Cf. Seidl, "Der Eid im römisch-ägyptischen Provinzialrecht," *Münchener Beiträge* xvii (1933), p. 11.

Tyche or by Domitian himself.[1] Statius calls him *sacratissimus imperator*,[2] *sacrosanctus*,[3] *sacer*,[4] and *verendus*.[5] His home is described as *divina*.[6] Indeed all that pertained to the monarch is named sacred: his home is *veneranda*[7] or *sacra*,[8] his court *sanctior*,[9] the Palace *veneranda*,[10] and the *clivus* where it stands is *sacer*.[11] The emperor's person is sacred, his side,[12] breast,[13] ear,[14] and feet,[15] and the rebellion of Saturninus against him is sacrilegious.[16] His name is *sacer*,[17] as are his secrets.[18] His banquet is "sacred"[19] or "most sacred;"[20] the golden wreath which he bestows as prize in the Alban contest is "sacred;"[21] the day on which he feasts the people is *sacer*;[22] his fish are "sacred;"[23] his treasures are *sanctae*,[24] and the *nectar* which he drinks is *verendum*.[25]

The fact that Statius (*Silv.* V, 1, 207) calls the orders *(imperia)* of Domitian 'sacred' is of special interest. The idea that the commands of a ruler were 'sacred' was part of the ancient theory that the

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1) *Ibid.*, pp. 11—12 and discussion pp. 17—39.
2) *Silv.* II, *praef.* 22—25 and III, *praef.* 16.
3) *Silv.* I, *praef.* 19.
4) *Silv.*, V, 2, 177.
5) *Silv.*, V, 2, 44—45. Martial (IV, 2) calls him *sanctus*.
6) *Silv.*, V, praef.
7) Martial IX, 20, 5.
8) Statius, *Silv.*, V, 1, 85—86.
9) Martial V, 6, 8.
10) *Ibid.*, I, 70, 5.
11) Martial I, 70, 5.
12) Martial VI, 76, 1.
13) *Ibid.*, VII, 1, 4 and VII, 2, 5.
14) *Ibid.*, VII, 99, 4.
15) Statius, *Silv.*, V, 1, 111—112.
16) Martial IX, 84, 1.
17) Martial VIII, *praef.*
18) Statius, *Silv.*, III, 3, 65—66.
19) Statius, *Silv.*, IV, 2, 5.
20) *Ibid.*, IV, *praef.*
21) Statius, *Silv.*, III, 5, 29: "Sanctoque . . . Caesaris auro."
22) Statius, *Silv.*, I, 6, 99.
23) Martial IV, 30, 3.
24) Statius, *Silv.*, III, 3, 87.
25) *Ibid.*, III, 4, 60—61. Martial (VI, 91) says that his *censura* is *sancta*, but the adjective may, or may not, refer to the ruler as divine.

king or emperor was himself Animate Law (νόμος ἔμψυχος).[1] Thus the Athenians had decreed that Demetrius Poliorcetes be consulted as a god and that the people should do whatever he bade, and also that "all that king Demetrius should order should be righteous towards the gods and just before men."[2] Statius had precedent enough for calling the monarch's commands "sacred," and in an inscription at Delphi is preserved a letter from the proconsul of Achaea to the people of Delphi in which he refers to the ἱερωτάτη ἐπιταγή of Domitian.[3]

Martial is a worshipper of the divine monarch, for he represents himself as about to drink a toast to Domitian *as a god*.[4] In Hellenistic times toasts were thus drunk to such rulers as Demetrius Poliorcetes and Seleucus who were flattered as gods.[5]

The imperial cult under Domitian has left many traces and the various phases of its development will be presented in the following chapters, of which the first is concerned with the title *dominus et deus*.

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1) Cf. E. R. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies* I (1928), pp. 55—102.

2) Cf. Scott, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes," *A.J.P.*, xlix (1928), pp. 161—162.

3) Dittenberger, *Syll.* 3, *821 D—E.* Domitian is also called [θειότατος] and [ἐπι]φανέστατος.

4) *Epigr.* IX, 93.

5) Cf. Scott, "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes," *A.J.P.* xlix (1928), pp. 150—156 and Macurdy, "The Grammar of Drinking Healths," *A.J.P.* liii (1932), pp. 168—171.

CHAPTER VII

DOMITIAN, DOMINUS ET DEUS

The title *dominus et deus* has been frequently discussed,[1] but an examination of the phrase in connection with the imperial cult under Domitian reveals several points which have previously been disregarded.

Statius, treating of a banquet given by the emperor on the Kalends of December (the year is not known), writes these lines about the guests:

> "et dulci *dominum* favore clamant:
> hoc solum vetuit licere Caesar." [2]

By refusing to be addressed as *dominus* Domitian was following the example of Augustus, who claimed that he was *princeps*, the leading citizen, not the master of slaves, and steadfastly persisted in his refusal.[3] Tiberius imitated his predecessor in this matter[4] as he did in general whenever he could find a precedent of Augustus to guide him.[5] It would seem, then, that at the time of

1) Cf. Eckhel, *Doctrina Numorum Veterum*, Part II, viii (1828), pp. 364—366; Schoener, "Über die Titulaturen der römischen Kaiser," *Acta Seminarii Philologici Erlangensis*, ii (1881), pp. 474—481; Mommsen, *Römisches Staatsrecht*, II, 2 (3 ed.), 1887, pp. 760—763; Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial*, 1891, p. 51; Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien*, 1891, p. 49 and notes 3—7; Neumann, "Dominus" in *RE.*, neunter Halbbd., 1903, 1305—1309; Janssen, *C. Suetonii Tranquilli Vita Domitiani*, 1919, p. 61; Kubitschek, "*Deus et dominus* als Titel des Kaisers," *Numismatische Zeitschrift*, N. F. viii (1915), pp. 167—178; Weynand "Flavius" 77 in *RE.*, vi, 2582; Herzog-Hauser, "Kaiserkult" in *RE.*, Supplementbd. iv, 1924, 838; v. Schrötter, "Dominus (noster)" in Wörterbuch der Münzkunde, 1930 p. 152; Bang in Friedländer, *Sittengeschichte* (9 ed.), iv, 1921, 82—88; Lugli, "Dominus" in De Ruggiero's *Dizionario Epigrafico*, ii, 3, 1926, p 1953. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 31—40; Ziegler, *Die Königsgleichnisse des Midrasch*, 1903, pp. 14—15.

2) *Silv.*, i, 6, 83—84.

3) Cf. Neumann, *op. cit.*, 1305—1306.

4) *Ibid.*, 1306; cf. Gelzer, "Iulius" 154 in *RE.*, 19. Halbbd., 1917, p. 524.

5) Gelzer, *op. cit.*, 526—527.

the banquet mentioned by Statius Domitian wished to be considered a *princeps*, a constitutional ruler. Our sources, however, prove conclusively that this did not continue to be the case.

Suetonius, for example, in a chapter concerned with the divine honors of the emperor, writes that Domitian "heard with pleasure the cry of 'Good luck to our Master and Mistress' which was raised in the amphitheatre on a feast day" and that "when he was dictating a circular letter in the name of his procurators he began in the following fashion: 'Our Master and God orders this to be done.' From this it became the practice for him to be addressed otherwise not even in the writing or speech of anyone."[1] The passage, unfortunately, affords no indication as to the date of the events mentioned.

But elsewhere (*Dom.* 3, 2) Suetonius writes: "Circa administrationem autem imperii *aliquamdiu* se varium praestitit, mixtura quoque aequabili vitiorum atque virtutum, donec virtutes quoque in vitia deflexit." The sentence would lead one to believe that some years elapsed before the emperor decided to turn to absolutism and abandon the system of diarchy, a move which to the senatorial class would appear as a most monstrous crime.

From Aurelius Victor, however, it appears that *in the beginning of his reign* Domitian was mild and efficient and that later a change in his conduct took place: "Maior libidinum flagitio ac plus quam superbe utens patribus, quippe qui se dominum deumque dici coegerit; quod confestim ab insequentibus remotum validius multo posthac deinceps retulere. Sed Domitianus primo clementiam simulans neque adeo iners domi belloque tolerantior videbatur."[2] The epitome of the *De Caesaribus* commences the treatment of the reign of Domitian with an account of his clemency, ability, success in warfare, fair administration of justice, care of the libraries, and skill in archery. After listing these points which are all to the credit of the emperor, the epitomator continues as follows, indicating clearly a striking change in the ruler's conduct: "Dehinc atrox caedibus bonorum supplicia agere coepit ac more C. Caligulae dominum sese

1) *Dom.*, 13.

2) *De Caesaribus*, 11, 2—3; cf. *ibid.*, 39, 4 (concerning Diocletian): "Se primus omnium Caligulam post Domitianumque dominum palam dici passus et adorari se appellarique uti deum."

deumque dici coegit."[1] It is, to be sure, characteristic of the ancient historians and biographers that they first praise a ruler and then indicate how by degrees his character deteriorates.[2] This, of course, may to a great extent account for the stories of a gradual decay in Domitian's character.

There is further evidence that the title was assumed some time after the commencement of the reign. Eutropius, after making the statement "Primis tamen annis moderatus in imperio fuit, mox ad ingentia vitia progressus," remarks, "Dominum se et deum primus appellari iussit."[3] In much the same way Orosius indicates a gradual deterioration in the emperor's character (ad hoc paulatim per omnes scelerum gradus crevit) and adds, "Is in tantam superbiam prolapsus fuit, ut dominum sese ac deum vocari scribi colique iusserit."[4] Eusebius dates the assumption of the title in the sixth year of Domitian's reign,[5] and Boissevain assigns to the same year, 85/86,[6] the statement in Zonaras that Domitian "already demanded that he be considered a god and took great pleasure in hearing himself called *dominus* and *deus*, which were used both in speech and writing."[7] These sources would show that for some years the emperor neither encouraged nor demanded the use of the title *dominus et deus* and also that when it finally was required it marked a departure from the *principatus*. If the date of Eusebius is correct, this departure from constitutional government by the adoption of the title occurred in A. D. 85/86.

Let us see how far the account of the historians is substantiated by contemporary evidence, the poems of Statius and Martial. Statius uses the word *dominus* with reference to Domitian, but usually in such a way that it may readily be so interpreted as to show no connection with the title. Thus the emperor is *dominus* of a steed (*Silv.*, i, 1, 54), of a slave or public servant (*Silv.*, iii, 4, 34—35; 3, 103; 3, 110; v, 1, 258—262; 1, 74), of his palace (*Silv.*, iv, 2, 25),

1) *Epitome*, 11, 2—6.

2) Cf. Alföldi, "A Gót Mozgalom És Dácia Feladása," *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny*, liii (1929), pp. 182—183.

3) vii, 23.

4) vii, 10, 1—2.

5) *Chronici Canones* (ed. Fotheringham, 1923, p. 272): "Primus Domitianus dominum se et deum appellari iussit."

6) Edition of Dio Cassius, vol. iii, 1901, pp. 169—170.

7) xi, 19.

of his table (*Silv.*, iv, 2, 6), and of Statius himself (*Silv.*, iv, introd. — here perhaps as a token of respect on the part of the poet towards the ruler as his patron). This frequent employment of the word and the fact that in some of the cases cited above it may also be taken to mean "our Master" make it possible that the title is to some degree reflected in the verses of the poet, especially when he calls the emperor "*potens terrarum dominus*" (*Silv.*, iii, 4, 19—20).[1]

The influence of the title *dominus et deus* is, on the other hand, quite unmistakable in Martial, for, aside from the many cases in which he uses either *dominus* or *deus*, he frequently uses them together with reference to the emperor. Thus he addresses Sextus as follows:

"Sexte, Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae,
ingenio fueris qui propiore *dei*
(nam tibi nascentes *domini* cognoscere curas
et secreta ducis pectora nosse licet),
sit locus et nostris aliqua tibi parte libellis (*Epigr.*, v, 5)."

Again, this time with reference to an edict regulating the seating in the theatre, he writes, certainly using the exact phraseology of the edict,

"*Edictum domini deique nostri* (v, 8, 1)."

On the cuirass of the emperor we find these lines

"Invia Sarmaticis *domini* lorica sagittis
et Martis Getico tergore fida magis,
quem vel ad Aetolae securam cuspidis ictus
texuit innumeri lubricus unguis apri,
felix sorte tua, sacrum cui tangere pectus
fas erit et *nostri* mente calere *dei* (vii, 2, 1—6)."

During the absence of Domitian on the Sarmatian campaign in A.D. 92 his return is besought as follows:

"Si desiderium, Caesar, populique patrumque
respicis et Latiae gaudia vera togae,
redde *deum* votis poscentibus. invidet hosti
Roma suo, veniat laurea multa licet:
terrarum *dominum* propius videt ille tuoque
terretur vultu barbarus et fruitur (vii, 5, 1—6)."

1) Cf. my article on "Statius' Adulation of Domitian," *A.J.P.*, liv (1933), pp. 249—250.

In another epigram one of the malicious crowd is represented as ready to say to Martial:

"Quid tu tot *domini deique nostri*
praefers muneribus (vii, 34, 8—9)?"

The reason why Martial ventures to offer poems to the emperor is set forth thus:

"Dante tibi turba querulos, Auguste, libellos
nos quoque quod *domino* carmina parva damus,
posse *deum* rebus pariter Musisque vacare
scimus et haec etiam serta placere tibi,
fer vates, Auguste, tuos (viii, 82, 1—5)."

Janus promises the emperor a life four times as long as that of Nestor:

"Terrarum *domino deoque* rerum
promisit Pyliam quater senectam (viii, 2, 6—7)."

Latinus, an actor, is made to speak these lines about Domitian:

"Nec poteram gratus *domino* sine moribus esse:
interius mentes inspicit ille *deus* (ix, 28, 7—8)."

To Fabullus, who has requested of the emperor the *ius trium liberorum*, Martial writes:

"Quod petis a *nostro* supplex *dominoque deoque*,
tu dabis ipse tibi, si potes arrigere (ix, 66, 3—4)."

Sometimes the whole title is not used in Martial, but either *deus* or *dominus*. The former term is applied to the emperor only once in the *Liber Spectaculorum*, where, in the epigram on the *pius elephas* the ruler is called *noster deus* (17, 4). Whether this reference is to Titus or to Domitian depends upon the controversial question of the possibility that Martial published a second augmented edition of this book,[1] though I agree with Weinreich that Titus is probably meant. At any rate there was a difference between the somewhat conventional *deus* and *dominus* with its definite connotation of tyranny. When Martial uses the word *deus* of Domitian later on, he probably is influenced by the title *dominus et deus:* The brother of the Dacian king says that his sovereign worships Domitian as a "god" (v, 3); the emperor returns as a victorious "god" from his Sarmatian campaign (vii, 8); Claudius Etruscus bore with the "god" when pleased or angry (vii, 40); after asking Crispus to commend him

1) Cf. Wissowa in Friedländer's *Sittengeschichte*, iv, pp. 290 f.

to the emperor, Martial remarks, "The rest I leave to the god himself (vii, 99);" Janus has the good fortune to see the "god" return in his month (viii, 8).

A statue of Hercules "wears the features of the god Caesar (Martial, ix, 65, 2)," but with characteristic flattery Martial says that the *numen* of Hercules does not suffice for such great deeds as those of Domitian, "this god," who should lend his features to Jupiter (ix, 101, 23—24). It was Domitian, a "god," who built the Capitoline Shrine of Jupiter (Martial, xiii, 74). Libations are poured to him as a god (Martial, ix, 93, 3) and the emperor is coupled with the gods as able to hear and grant prayers (Martial, vi, 87).

The writers of the day sometimes depict Domitian as a Θεὸς ἐπιφανής, a *deus praesens*. Statius speaks of the *forma dei praesens* (*Silv.*, I, 1, 62) and calls the monarch *proximus ille deus* (*Silv.*, V, 2, 170). Martial prays to him as a god[1] in the same spirit in which Quintilian writes: "ipsumque in primis, quo neque praesentius aliud nec studiis magis propitium numen est, invocem."[2] The proconsul of Achaea in a letter to the people of Delphi refers to Domitian with the words τοῦ] Κυρίου ἡμῶν κ[αὶ ἐπι]φανεστάτου Αὐ[τοκρ]άτορος. . . .[3] The ancients had before this compared the power of the tangible, present, and helpful ruler with that of distant, unheeding, or perhaps non-existent gods, and the poets do not hesitate to make such a comparison between Domitian and Jupiter, as is shown in chapter X.

In the *Liber Spectaculorum*, moreover, Martial thinks of the title *dominus* as a term of reproach, as connoting a tyrant, and he there so uses it of Nero:

> "Reddita Roma sibi est et sunt te praeside, Caesar,
> deliciae populi, quae fuerant *domini* (2, 11—12)."

There is, furthermore, no reason to believe that Martial changed his stand on the word *dominus* when he wrote the first few books of the *Epigrams*, for at first there is apparently no reference to the divine title *dominus et deus* in the few cases in which *dominus* occurs before the Fourth Book. The emperor's frown is called "terrarum dominum" (i, 4, 2); the gift of the *ius trium liberorum* is hailed by the poet as the gift of his master — *domini munus*

1) Cf. *Epigr.* VII, 60; cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 53—54.
2) *Inst. Or.*, iv praef.
3) Dittenberger, *Syll.*[3], 821 E.

(ii, 92, 4); the sacred fish in the emperor's pool know "their master" (iv, 30, 4).

It seems, however, that the new title may have already found its way into the poems when Martial represents a man asking the praetor for money to make up his census in order to be able to applaud "the master" — or is it "his master"? — (iv, 67, 4). Beginning with the Fifth Book, at any rate, there can be no doubt about the influence of the title, for then *dominus* is frequently employed not only in conjunction with *deus,* as we have seen, but also alone. So the Fifth Book, one which the emperor may read in the presence of Minerva, "cum domino iocatur" (v, 2, 6); he is *dominus* of the nine Muses (v, 6, 18); our *dominus* himself reads the epigrams (vi, 65, 14—15), and the poet prays that the *dominus* will read them (vii, 12, 1); in the introduction to the Eighth Book the ruler is addressed as "domine;" the author gives instructions to his book which is about to enter the abode of the *dominus* (viii, 1, 1); he bids Dento cease to weary the "Master" with petitions (viii, 31, 3); the emperor is *dominus mundi* (viii, 32, 6); the palace, great though it is, is yet smaller than "its" — or does Martial mean "our" — Master (viii, 36, 12); no hand from the "Master's" crowd of slaves should touch a precious bowl (viii, 51, 18); Earinus is most dear to his "Master" who praises his locks (ix, 16 and 17 — here *dominus* may merely suggest the relation between master and slave); the home in which the ruler was born knew the infant "master" (ix, 20, 2); the wreath won by Carus in the Alban contest of its own accord took its place on the statue with the gleaming marble features of the *dominus* (ix, 23, 3); Carus worships the image of the "master" (ix, 24, 6); the imperial servants imitate the ways of their "master" (ix, 79, 8), and Norbanus is loyal in defense of his *dominus* (ix, 84, 2), but probably in neither of these two cases is the word used because of the title.

Dominus is used with reference to Domitian in two inscriptions, but one is that of a slave of the emperor,[1] while the other is apparently that of a freedman of Domitia.[2] Another inscription of A.D. 90 is said to have been at Corduba until 1627 and to have had before the titulature of Domitian the letters D.N. These Henzen deleted because he could not readily believe that the emperor was

1) C.I.L. vi, 23454.

2) C.I.L. x, 444 = Dessau 3546.

called *dominus noster* in a public monument except by a slave or freedman,[1] but I can see no reason why the title may not actually have been employed on the stone.

In Greek inscriptions and papyri the Greek equivalent of the Latin *dominus,* namely κύριος, is found as early as A.D. 82 and is used frequently with reference to Domitian, as it had also been for Claudius, Nero, Galba, Vespasian, and Titus.[2] It must be remembered that in the East even Tiberius with the best of intentions had not been able to stem the tide of emperor worship.[3]

We have seen that *deus* and *dominus* are first used together by Martial in his Fifth Book (published about the fall of A.D. 89), while *deus* alone is first found in the same book, with the exception of one case in the *Liber Spectaculorum*, and then it is probable that the epigram in question, the seventeenth, refers to Titus. *Dominus* alone as a title with reference to Domitian may appear first in the Fourth Book of the *Epigrams* (published in December, 88) and it is unquestionably so used in the fifth book. Eusebius dates adoption of the title, or rather the order it be used, in the year 85/86. It certainly was in use in 89, perhaps in 88, to judge from the verses of Martial. If we suppose that the emperor first used the title in edicts issued in the name of his procurators about 86, we probably shall not be much in error. This action on the part of Domitian apparently indicates a complete change in his policy; he no longer pretends to be a *princeps;* he has gone over to absolutism and made this clear by using the phrase *dominus et deus* in his edicts mentioned above.[4]

The connotation of *dominus,* with or without *deus,* to Domitian's contemporaries is fully attested: The younger Pliny, with especial reference to the dead and hated Domitian, writes, "Plerique principes, cum essent *civium domini*, libertorum erant servi: horum consiliis, horum nutu regebantur. . ."[5] Again, in a letter to Minicianus he tells how the emperor "immanitate *tyranni*, licentia *domini*" convoked

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1) C.I.L. ii, 4722; cf. Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

2) For examples of the use of κύριος cf. Janssen, *loc. cit.*, IGR., i, no. 1333, and Ditt. *Syll.*[3] no 821.

3) Gelzer, *op. cit.*, 524—525.

4) On this change in the emperor's policy, cf. Weynand, *op. cit.*, 2565.

5) *Paneg.*, 88.

the *pontifices* at his Alban estate rather than at the Regia.[1] In contrasting the previous reign with that of Trajan, he writes: "Nusquam ut *deo*, nusquam ut numini blandiamur; non enim de tyranno, sed de cive, non de *domino*, sed de parente loquimur."[2] He states that the *optimus princeps*, Trajan, occupied the throne that there might be no place for a *dominus*,[3] speaks of Domitian as a "most savage master,"[4] and explains thus the difference between the reign of Domitian and that of Trajan: "Scis ut sunt diversa natura *dominatio* et *principatus*, ita non aliis esse principem gratiorem, quam qui maxime *dominum* graventur."[5]

Martial, too, revealed his true sentiments in the seventy-second epigram of the Tenth Book, writing:

"Frustra, Blanditiae, venitis ad me
adtritis miserabiles labellis:
dicturus dominum deumque non sum.
iam non est locus hac in urbe vobis;
ad Parthos procul ite pilleatos
et turpes humilesque supplicesque
pictorum sola basiate regum.
non est hic (i. e. Nerva) *dominus* sed imperator,
sed iustissimus omnium senator,
per quem de Stygia domo reducta est
siccis rustica Veritas capillis.
hoc sub *principe*, si sapis, caveto,
verbis, Roma, prioribus loquaris."

Finally Dio Chrysostom (*Or.* xlv, 1) mentions the hardships which he suffered in exile and tells how he endured an enemy (Domitian) "who was called 'master and god' by all Greeks and barbarians, but who was really an evil daemon." He adds, moreover, that he himself "did not flatter Domitian *in this way* (καὶ ταῦτα οὐ θωπεύων αὐτόν) or try to avert his hostility by entreaty."

These statements indicate that Dio is contrasting his own conduct with that of others, and apparently he did not follow the course of some other person or persons who actually did escape punishment

1) *Ep.* iv, 11, 6.
2) *Paneg.*, 2, 3.
3) *Ibid.*, 55, 7.
4) *Ibid.*, 52, 7.
5) *Ibid.*, 45, 3.

by flattering the emperor, specifically by calling him *dominus et deus*. If Dio referred in general terms to the *adulatio* of others, he surely must have known of at least one particular case, and in fact he seems to have had in mind Juventius Celsus.

Dio Cassius, the historian, a relative and perhaps, as Cary has suggested,[1] the grandson of the orator, gives the following information concerning Juventius Celsus, the distinguished jurist,[2] who, when accused of taking a leading part in a conspiracy against Domitian, saved himself in a remarkable way: "When he was about to be condemned, he asked leave to say something in private to the emperor, and then made proskynesis before him and frequently addressed him as 'master and god,' names by which he was already being called by others. He said, 'I have done nothing of the kind [i. e. taken part in a conspiracy], but, if I secure a respite, I shall inquire closely into all matters and accuse and convict many persons.' On this condition he was let off, but he did not report anyone, and he kept putting forward now one excuse and now another until Domitian died."[3]

The conduct of Juventius Celsus corresponds precisely with the *adulatio* of which Dio Chrysostom, in the passage cited above, so thoroughly disapproves and with which he contrasts his own courageous outspokenness. It is more than likely that he had Juventius in mind when he wrote, especially since it is quite understandable why he did not mention the great jurist by name: In general he is very restrained in his writing, even when he refers to Domitian who had banished him.[4] It would, moreover, have been an unnecessary courting of trouble to name in such connection a personage who after the death of Domitian became *praetor, legatus* of Thrace, *consul,* both *suffectus* and *ordinarius,* and member of Hadrian's *consilium*.[5] Still, he evidently could not refrain from making a guarded reference to the past actions of Juventius in the time "when it seemed necessary to all to speak falsehood on

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1) Loeb ed. of Dio's *Roman History*, I, p. viii.

2) Cf. Diehl, "Iuventius" no. 13 in *RE.*, 20. Halbbd. (1919), 1364—65.

3) *Epit.* of Bk. lxvii, 13, 3—4. Cf. Scott, "Dio Chrysostom and Juventius Celsus," *C.P.* xxix (1934), p. 66.

4) On Dio Chrysostom and his attitude towards Domitian cf. O. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (1928), pp. 125—132.

5) Cf. Dessau, *Prosopographia Imperii Romani* II (1897), p. 255, no. 590.

account of fear" and when he, Dio, "alone dared to speak the truth."[1]

The question of the origin and significance of the title has been recently discussed by Sauter,[2] who correctly shows that on the one hand *dominus* signified the master of slaves as opposed to the *princeps* who was at the head of a free state. But on the other hand *dominus et deus noster* is certainly derived from the orient, where, for example, the title κύριος (καὶ) θεός is applied to the ruler, while κύριος alone originates as an epithet of Semitic divinities. So, too, in the East the genitive ἡμῶν corresponding to the Latin *noster* is used with κύριος as a title of the divine monarch, the lord of his subjects and worshippers.[3]

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1) *Or.* iii, 12—13.

2) *Op. cit.*, 36—40.

3) It should be noted that *dominus* was also used without any religious significance as an expression of greeting; cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 37 and Bang in Friedländer-Wissowa, *Sittengeschichte*, IV $^{9-10}$, pp. 82 ff.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EMPEROR'S *NUMEN*

The poets do not hesitate to ascribe to Domitian the attributes of godhead. So he is represented as possessing superhuman beauty. Workmen who are engaged in erecting a colossal equestrian statue to him find their task made pleasant by the "present beauty" *(praesens forma)* of the god and are amazed at their great vigor.[1] There is some wonder-working power in the person of the emperor. Venus, after praising the beauty of Flavius Earinus, cupbearer of Domitian, beyond that of Endymion, Attis, Narcissus, and Hylas, adds: "He only will be more handsome to whom you shall be given."[2]

This beauty is joined with a certain effulgence, and Martial writes, "Here stood Caesar beauteous *(formosus)* with the dust of the northern war, shedding from his countenance effulgent light *(purpureum iubar)*."[3] This solar radiance of kingship is an emanation of divine power,[4] of *numen*. Statius takes up the theme again and again: The countenance of the ruler is "calm, and with majesty serene he tempers his rays *(radios)*[5] and modestly lowers the

1) Statius, *Silv.*, i, 1, 61—63. *Praesens* suggests an epiphany of the emperor (Pfister, "Epiphanie," *RE.*, Supplementbd. iv [1924], esp. pp. 306—314), and, to quote Weinreich ("Antikes Gottmenschentum," *Neue Jahrbücher* ii, 1926, p. 647), "Schönheit und Lächeln sind typische Merkmale ungezählter Epiphanien von Göttern oder Engeln." Cf. L. Bieler, ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ (1935), pp. 51 and 54.

2) Statius, *Silv.*, iii, 4, 44—45.

3) *Epigr.*, viii, 65, 3—4. *Iubar* is a word which particularly expresses the gleam of the stars, and Domitian and other rulers were often considered as stars; cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 137—145.

4) Cf. Goodenough, "The Political Philosophy of the Hellenistic Kingship," *Yale Classical Studies*, i, 1928, esp. pp. 78—83.

5) Cf. Beurlier, *Le Culte Impérial*, 1891, pp. 48—50 and L. Cesano, "Di un nuovo medaglione aureo di Costantino I e del 'princeps iuventutis,'" *Rassegna Numismatica* (1911), pp. 36—43 on the importance of the radiate crown in emperor worship. Domitian is represented on his coinage with the radiate crown (Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, ii, 1930, pp. 355, 357, 365 *et passim*).

standard of his fortune; yet the glory concealed shines forth in his countenance."[1] The emperor "rises with the new sun, with the great constellations, himself shining more clearly and greater than the early Morning Star."[2] The poet, when present at a banquet in the imperial palace, seems "to recline with Jupiter among the stars."[3] In the poem on the equestrian statue Statius says of the steed, "He will serve one star,"[4] and Curtius, gazing upon the statue, beholds the ruler's "immortal effulgence" *(immortale iubar).*[5] The emperor is looked upon as a *sidus,*[6] and as consul he warms and sheds reflected light upon the temples, the flames of the altars, the constellations, and the people of Rome.[7] When he returns to Rome from the Sarmatian war, the moon and stars of night, according to Martial (viii, 21), will not depart because of their eagerness to see the emperor. But even so, let him come at night. The stars may stand still, and when Domitian comes the people will not lack daylight. Clearly Martial pictures the ruler, radiant like the sun, turning darkness to light.

The eyes of the prince, too, have something divine about them, for Statius speaks of them as *caelestes*[8] and says that they imitate the sidereal flames.[9] Augustus had also possessed, according to Suetonius, "clear, shining eyes in which he even wished people to believe that there was a certain divine power *(quiddam divini vigoris),* and he was pleased if anyone at whom he gazed intently lowered his gaze as before the brilliance of the sun."[10] Apparently Domitian, like his illustrious predecessor, Augustus, was credited with possessing

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1) *Silv.,* iv, 2, 41—44. Cf. Vollmer's edition of the *Silvae* (1898), pp. 217—218.

2) *Ibid.,* iv, 1, 2—4. Cf. my article on "Statius' Adulation of Domitian," *A.J.P.,* liv (1933), pp. 252—253.

3) *Ibid.,* iv, 2, 10—11.

4) *Ibid.,* i, 1, 55. Cyllarus, the horse of the Dioscuri, is here compared to Domitian's steed. There is also a comparison between the stars, the Dioscuri, and the emperor, also an *astrum.*

5) *Ibid.,* i, 1, 77.

6) *Ibid.,* i, 4, 3.

7) *Ibid.,* iv, 1, 23—27. The same type of flattery is used in the case of Augustus by Horace, *Carm.,* iv, 5.

8) *Ibid.,* iii, 4, 53.

9) *Ibid.,* i, 1, 103.

10) *Aug.,* 79; cf. Deonna, "La Légende d' Octave-Auguste," *Rev. de l'hist. des religions,* lxxxiv (1921), pp. 87—88.

a strange power in his eyes, which are all-seeing.[1] It was, indeed, nothing new for a divine monarch to inspire both terror and admiration by his appearance,[2] and Domitian's countenance is said to evoke these sensations in barbarians.[3] Martial represents his book of poetry as "timid" (v, 6, 7/8), as "anxious and trembling" (vi, 1, 4) at the prospect of coming into the imperial presence and hands. Curtius, beholding from his pool the new equestrian statue of the ruler, is at first frightened *(expavit — trepidans)* but later filled with joy *(laetus)* at the sight of the monarch's image.[4] Statius rejoices at seeing Domitian at a banquet,[5] and Degis, brother of Decebalus, is *laetus et attonitus* upon beholding the ruler of the world.[6] The god Janus, when Domitian conquered the Sarmatians, did not have faces enough and wished for more eyes in his desire to gaze at the emperor.[7] Sextus, too, the librarian of the Palatine, *enjoys* the sight of the imperial deity.[8]

Indeed, contact or connection of any sort with Domitian is cause enough, in the eyes of the court poets, to burst forth into macarisms. Happy is the month of December in which news comes that Domitian will return from war.[9] Lucky is the breastplate which has the good fortune to touch the emperor's sacred breast,[10] and *felix*, too, the home of the ruler when an infant.[11] Pergamum is counted fortunate because it receives the locks of Earinus, the emperor's cupbearer,[12] and because it was the youth's birthplace.[13] Earinus is beloved of

1) Statius, *Silv.*, v, 1, 81—83.

2) So Demetrius Poliorcetes had, according to Plutarch (*Demetr.*, ii, 3), a countenance which inspired terror, while his nature evoked both fear and good will; cf. my article on "The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes," *A.J.P.*, xlix (1928), p. 224.

3) Martial, *Epigr.*, vii, 5, 5—6: "terrarum dominum propius videt ille tuoque terretur vultu barbarus et fruitur." Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 162—163 cites Martial, vii, 40, 1—2 and Statius, *Silv.*, i, 1, 15/16 and iv, 3, 134 as examples of this contrast in Domitian.

4) Statius, *Silv.*, i, 1, 71—73.

5) *Ibid.*, iv, 2, 13—16.

6) Martial, v, 3.

7) *Ibid.*, viii, 2, 1—4.

8) *Ibid.*, v, 5, 1/2.

9) *Ibid.*, vii, 8, 5.

10) *Ibid.*, vii, 2, 5.

11) *Ibid.*, ix, 20, 3.

12) *Ibid.*, ix, 16, 5.

13) Statius, *Silv.*, iii, 4, 12.

the gods in that he can serve Domitian and touch his right hand;[1] Crispinus is also characterized as *felix* because he can bear arms in the service of the *princeps*.[2] Curtius finally counts his pool 'blessed' since he can see from it the gleam of the equestrian statue of the emperor.[3]

The ruler, the possessor of *numen*, had come to be regarded as invincible, as *invictus*, not only a frequent victor but always a victor.[4] Statius tells the emperor that he will be a thousand times victorious and begs him to permit so many triumphs.[5] In another poem[6] the same poet has the Sibyl of Cumae prophecy great triumphs for the ruler, who is compared to Hercules and Bacchus. Closely related to this idea of countless triumphs is the use of *invictus* merely as an epithet, when Statius speaks of a promising future for the children of Julius Menecrates,

> "Si modo prona bonis *invicti Caesaris* adsint
> numina."[7]

In two cases Domitian is called *invincible* in passages which deal with him as triumphing;[8] elsewhere, however, *invictus* appears as an epithet without specific reference to victory or triumph, for it is used by Martial to designate in one case the head of the monarch,[9] in the other his hand.[10] The statement is made that whatever his invincible hand has founded belongs to heaven. Clearly *invictus* is an epithet of divine character, an epithet suitable to describe the possessor of *numen*.

Domitian is represented as possessing *numen*, a divine power which manifests itself in different ways, a force which is designated by primitive peoples as Mana, Wakanda, Orenda, or Manitu and which in more highly developed civilizations is thought to belong

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1) *Ibid.*, iii, 4, 60.
2) *Ibid.*, v, 2, 176.
3) *Ibid.*, i, 1, 75. On these macarisms cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 163—166.
4) Many cases of the use of the word *invictus* as an epithet have been collected and discussed by Sauter, so it will be necessary only to show here how the word was applied by the poets to Domitian.
5) *Silv.*, iv, 1, 39 ff.
6) *Ibid.*, iv, 3, 153 ff.
7) *Silv.*, iv, 8, 59 ff.
8) Statius, *Silv.*, iv, 7, 49 ff. and Martial, *Epigr.*, vii, 6, 7—8.
9) ix, 23, 5—6.
10) ix, 1, 8—10.

to nobles or priest-kings and gods.[1] Such was the mysterious power which Domitian exerted over men, and, as we shall see, over nature as well. This divinity is sometimes revealed by an unearthly magnitude: the ground, for example, pants beneath the weight of the ruler's equestrian statue, but the pressure is not of iron or bronze but of his *genius;*[2] and *genius* is here, as elsewhere, used as practically synonymous with *numen.*[3] The palace, furthermore, is too small to contain its great lord, who fills it and makes glad the household gods with his great genius.[4]

Indeed, as Sauter (pp. 96 ff.) has pointed out, *magnus* was a word of both profane and sacred character. It was used of a man to designate him as 'great' or 'outstanding' as the adjective is employed today. But it was also an epithet of divinity which in the Orient became a formula. By the court poets Domitian is frequently spoken of or addressed as *maximus,*[5] as *tantus,*[6] or as *magnus.*[7] In an inscription of Laodicea Domitian, it is thought, is the recipient of similar honor.[8]

Domitian is characterized as "better than Nature and more powerful,"[9] and his power is praised as equal to that of the gods,[10]

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1) Cf. Weinreich, "Antikes Gottmenschentum," *Neue Jahrbücher*, ii, 1926, pp. 634—635.

2) Statius, *Silv.*, i, 1, 56 ff.: "vix sola sufficiunt insessaque pondere tanto subter anhelat humus; nec ferro aut aere: laborant sub genio. . ." On the genius of the ruler, cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 41—45.

3) Cf. Pippidi, "Le 'Numen Augusti,'" *Rev. des Études Latines* (1931), pp. 83—112 and Taylor, *The Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931), pp. viii and 227.

4) Statius, *Silv.*, iv, 2, 23 ff.: "Tanta patet moles effusaeque impetus aulae liberior campo multumque amplexus operti aetherios et tantum domino minor; ille penates implet et *ingenti genio* iuvat." Cf. Martial, *Epigr.*, viii, 36, 11—12: "Haec, Auguste, tamen, quae vertice sidera pulsat, par domus est caelo sed minor est domino."

5) Cf. Martial, v, 19, 1; vi, 4, 1, and Statius, *Silv.*, iv, *praef.*

6) Cf. Martial, iv, 1, 9—10, and Statius, *Silv.*, i, 4, 92.

7) Cf. Statius, *Silv.*, ii, 5, 27; iii, 1, 62; iii, 3, 183; iii, 4, 57; iv, 1, 17; iv, 1, 46; iv, 2, 15; v, 1, 164; v, 2, 176.

8) IGR., iv, 847: Δ[ὶ] μεγίσ[τῳ] Σ[ω]τῆρι καὶ Αὐτοκράτορι [Δομιτιαν]ῷ καίσαρι. Cf. Sauter's discussion on p. 98 of his book. Does not the adjective, however, refer to Zeus?

9) Statius, *Silv.*, iv, 3, 135.

10) Juvenal, iv, 70—71: ". . . nihil est quod credere de se
non possit cum laudatur dis aequa potestas."

so it is not surprising to find that his hands are supposed to be of divine magnitude. Thus Martial tells how his book will pass into the "great hands" of Caesar,[1] and Statius writes in the same vein of flattery about Earinus: "O boy dear to the gods above, you who have been chosen to taste first the revered nectar and to touch so often the huge right hand *(ingentem . . . dextram)* which the Getae seek to know and the Persians, Armenians, and Indians desire to touch."[2] The sacred fish of the emperor recognize their master, and, since they are aware of the *numen* which he possesses, they desire, like the Persians, Armenians and Indians, to perform proskynesis and therefore "lick that hand than which there is nothing greater in the world."[3] Again, it is of the hand of a deity that Martial speaks when he tells how the monarch holds a small cup in his mighty hand.[4] The site of Domitian's birthplace is happy to have upheld the mighty hands of the infant god;[5] the emperor's hands through which Martial prays that many a crown of oak may pass are described by the poet as *tantae.*[6] Priscilla, on her deathbed, tells her husband how she has seen him draw nearer and nearer to the lofty *(alta)* hand of Caesar, and[7] the word *alta* must here correspond roughly to the religious meaning given to *magna.* The hand is "great" because it is sacred as pertaining to a god, and in the same spirit the ear[8] and breast[9] of the emperor are called "sacred."

This *numen* or *genius* of the emperor is a mighty power which controls the world, and as such it is adored by Priscilla in her desire to obtain promotion for her husband, Abascantus;[10] with her dying

1) *Epigr.*, vi, 1, 5.

2) *Silv.*, iii, 4, 60—63. The reference in "tangere" is assuredly to the act of proskynesis; cf. Seeck, "adoratio," *RE.*, i (1894), 400—401; Koll, *The Ruler Cult under Caligula,* Diss. Western Reserve Univ. (1932), p. 53; Horst, *Proskynein* (1932), p. 45.

3) Martial, *Epigr.*, iv, 30, 4—5. Cf. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (1928), pp. 143—147 and Dölger, "Die Kaiservergötterung bei Martial und 'die heiligen Fische Domitians,'" *Antike und Christentum,* i (1929), pp. 167—168.

4) *Epigr.*, iv, 8, 10.

5) *Ibid.*, ix, 20, 1—5.

6) iv, 1, 5—6.

7) Statius, *Silv.*, v, 1, 184.

8) Martial, vii, 99, 4.

9) *Ibid.*, vi, 76, 1 and Statius, *Silv.*, v, 1, 187.

10) Statius, *Silv*, v, 1, 74: "Et mitem genium domini praesentis adoras." The ruler is a *deus praesens,* an epiphany.

breath she urges Abascantus to love "the powerful genius" of the monarch.[1] From Pliny (*Paneg.*, 52, 6) it appears that thanksgivings were rendered to Domitian's *genius,* and oaths were taken by it.[2] In the *Silvae* Statius frequently speaks of Domitian's *numen* or *numina* as being placated (iii, 3, 183—184), invoked (iv, preface), besought (iv, 4, 57, v, 2, 154, and v, 1, 164—165) or as deciding the future of a person's career (iv, 8, 61—62),[3] and even Quintilian invokes as an aid for composition the ruler, of whom he says,. "quo neque praesentius aliud nec studiis magis propitium numen est;"[4] like Quintilian, Martial[5] and Statius[6] designate the emperor as a *numen.*

This divine power or *numen* was supposed to exert its influence not only over men, as we have seen was the case, but it might also be felt by inanimate objects,[7] especially by birds, beasts, and fish. There are, indeed, in the poetry of Martial a number of compositions which have as a theme the miraculous power of the ruler's *numen* over wild creatures. They have been admirably and exhaustively discussed by Weinreich in his *Studien zu Martial,*[8] and his work should be consulted for the rich material which he has collected on this type of "Tier-blanditiae" in the Hellenistic kingdoms and Roman Empire.

One epigram, the seventeenth of the *Liber Spectaculorum,* is apparently concerned with the emperor Titus[9] and runs as follows: "In that the loyal and suppliant elephant worships *(adorat)* you, O Caesar, this beast, which just now was so to be feared by the bull, does not do so under orders or at the bidding of any trainer;

1) *Ibid.*, v, 1, 187.

2) Dessau, 9059.

3) Sauter, *op. cit.*, 46, points out that Statius uses a formula for wishing luck in iv, 4; v, 2, and iv, 8.

4) *Inst. Or.*, iv, preface.

5) *Epigr.*, ix, 86, 9.

6) *Silv.*, i, 1, 75, iv, 3, 140, and iii, 3, 64; cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 45—47.

7) Martial, *Epigr.*, ix, 61, says of the plane tree planted by Julius Caesar "auctorem dominumque suum sentire videtur." We have seen how Martial (viii, 21) represents the moon and stars tarrying to behold the emperor; cf. Sauter, pp. 166—170.

8) Throughout the remainder of this chapter this book will be cited only by name of the author. Cf. Bieler, *op. cit.*, pp. 104—111 on the divine ruler's power over animals.

9) Cf. Weinreich, pp. 21—23 on the chronology of the *Liber Spectaculorum.*

believe me, it, too, perceives our god *(nostrum sentit et ille deum).*" The verb *adorat* indicates that the elephant performed the act of proskynesis, and such an act on the part of the elephant belongs, as Weinreich has shown,[1] to a tradition which existed long before and long after the Flavians. The beast, all untaught, pays homage to the ruler because he is under the influence of the prince's *numen.*[2]

Another epigram, the thirtieth of the same book, is also concerned with a miracle of the arena which serves as a testimony to the divine power of the emperor. The words of the poem — there is a lacuna in the text — are as follows: "While a roused antelope was flying from the swift Molossians and by various tricks was delaying the chase, it halted before the feet of Caesar, suppliant and as one in prayer, and the dogs did not touch their prey. (Here the lacuna occurs) This gift she won because she recognized the prince. Divine power is Caesar's *(numen habet Caesar);* sacred, sacred is this power *(sacra est haec, sacra potestas).* Believe me, wild beasts have not learned to lie." The antelope and the elephant both, since they have not learned the art of flattery, bear witness to the *numen* or *potestas* of the monarch. To this theme of the antelope Martial returns in later books,[3] and in one poem there is again this same idea of the influence of the *numen:* "Do you see how the unwarlike antelopes attempt brave conflicts? How great is the rage of such timid creatures? They are eager to dash together to death with their small brows. Do you wish, Caesar, to spare the antelopes? Let loose your dogs."[4] This last line takes up the refrain of the "praedam non tetigere canes" in *Lib. Spec.* 30.

The basis of a further series of poems is the miracle of a lion which spares a hare. This scene from the arena shows the emperor, or rather his *numen,* exerting an influence of mercy.[5] The first of

1) Pp. 74—85. On p. 85 he concludes, "Die kulturgeschichtlichen Zusammenhänge zwischen Indien, Hellenismus, Kaiserzeit und christlichem Byzanz rücken so in helles Licht."

2) Cf. Juvenal (xii, 106 f.), who speaks of the imperial herd of elephants, who serve no private person.

3) So *Epigr.,* iv, 35 and xiii, 94.

4) *Ibid.,* iv, 74.

5) Cf. Martial, *Lib. Spec.,* 10, 5—6:

"Quos decet esse hominum tali sub principe mores,
qui iubet ingenium mitius esse feris!"

See also Weinreich, p. 93.

this series compares the lord of the heavens with the ruler of the earth: "While he [the eagle] was bearing the youth through the ethereal air, his burden clung uninjured to the timid talons. Now their prey appeases Caesar's lions, and the hare safely plays in the huge mouth. Which miracle do you consider the greater? There is a supreme author of each: one miracle is Caesar's, the other Jupiter's."[1] The next poem to treat of this same miracle is addressed to the emperor and closes with these lines: "How can the greedy lion spare its captured prey? But he is called yours: for that reason he can spare."[2] Another epigram extols the ruler's spirit of mercy and his greatness, for it points out that, just as the lion spares the hare as beneath his dignity, so the Dacian youth need not fear the arms of Caesar.[3] There follow next three epigrams, all of which mention the miracle but do not refer it to Caesar.[4]

The final poem of this series (i, 104) opens with a catalogue of wild animals, leopard, tiger, stag, bear, boar, bison, and elephant, all of which perform acts truly marvellous for such creatures. After giving this list, however, the poet continues as follows: "Who would not think these spectacles fit for the gods? Yet he passes these by as lesser, who sees humble prey hunted by lions whom the swift fear of hares fatigues. They release, retake, and fondle their captives, and the prey is safer in their mouths. To it they rejoice to offer their jaws relaxed and open, and to keep their teeth so as not to harm, since they are ashamed to crush their soft booty when they have just come from laying low steers." Then in the last two lines of the composition the clemency of the lions is ascribed to the fact that they sense their master's divine power: "This clemency is not brought about by training, but the lions know whom they serve."[5] It seems highly probable that Weinreich

1) *Epigr.*, i, 6.
2) *Ibid.*, i, 14.
3) *Ibid.*, i, 22.
4) *Ibid.*, i, 48, 51, and 60.
5) Cf. Weinreich, p. 101: "104, 22: sed norunt cui serviant leones.
6, 5 f. summus... auctor adest: haec sunt Caesaris
3 Caesareos . . . leones.
14, 6 (leo) est tuus dicitur: ergo potest (parcere).
[lib. spect. 17, 4 vom Elephanten:
crede mihi, nostrum sentit et ille deum.]
Weinreich also gives (pp. 101—102) evidence for the connection before and after

is correct in suggesting that before the publication of the First Book of the *Epigrams* an edition consisting of the poems dealing with the lion-hare miracle was sent by the poet to Domitian, who is flattered by the series.[1]

Birds, as well as beasts, pay their respects to the divine emperor. It was not unusual for a bird to be taught greetings or phrases, and often parrots were taught to greet the emperor. So Melior's parrot is described by Statius as "salutator regum nomenque locutus Caesareum,"[2] while the Elder Pliny tells us that parrots would greet the emperors.[3] He also tells of a raven in the Forum which "would greet by name Tiberius, then the Caesars, Germanicus and Drusus, and next the Roman people as they passed by."[4] We learn, too, from a passage in Macrobius, of birds trained to greet Augustus with such phrases as "Ave Caesar victor imperator" or Antony with "Ave victor imperator Antoni."[5]

These birds, however, uttered their greetings mechanically and as the result of training, while in one of the *Apophoreta* Martial has a parrot say, "I, a parrot, shall learn from you the names of others: I have learned *by myself* to say this: 'Caesar have.'"[6] The parrot, like the elephant and the lion, does not perform this miracle by any art of the trainer, but under the influence of the emperor's *numen* it bears witness to his divinity. This flattery paid to Domitian is apparently reproved, as has been seen,[7] by Dio Chrysostom in his First Discourse on Kingship (i, 14).

Domitian, between lions and divine monarchy. M. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges* (1924), pp. 16—17 and 256—258 gives evidence for the belief that lions would not harm a true king.

1) Cf. Martial, *Epigr.*, i, 44:

"Lascivos leporum cursus lususque leonum
quod maior nobis charta minorque gerit
et bis idem facimus, nimium si, Stella, videtur
hoc tibi, bis leporem tu quoque pone mihi."

Weinreich, pp. 103 ff., would consider the *charta minor* as an edition of the series sent to the emperor. The theme of a tame lion is treated twice in later books of the epigrams (ii, 75 and ix, 71), and in the second of these epigrams the *clementia* of the king of beasts is praised, and thus indirectly the *numen* of the monarch.

2) *Silvae*, ii, 4, 29. Cf. the excellent commentary of Weinreich on pp. 113 ff.

3) *N.H.*, x, 117.

4) *Ibid.*, x, 121 ff.

5) *Sat.*, ii, 4, 29. 6) *Epigr.*, xiv, 73. 7) See p. 111.

As is mentioned in another chapter,[1] the crown of victory won by Carus in the Alban contest is said to have gone of its own accord *(ultro)* to rest upon the bust of Domitian.[2] Besides, even as the crown felt the divine power of the monarch, so animals, too, had been known to offer themselves for sacrifice to Demeter,[3] while Leonidas of Alexandria, celebrating in an epigram Nero's escape from the conspiracy of Piso, represents the Nile and Tiber as anxious to serve Nero, and the cattle of the hecatomb as willingly bending their necks for sacrifice.[4]

To this same type of miracle belongs that given in the following epigram, which apparently describes a statue or relief: "Veleius, when he was attached to the Arctic war as a companion of Caesar, vowed this bird to Mars in behalf of the general. The moon had not entirely completed eight orbits when the god was demanding the vow already due him. Of its own accord the goose itself joyously hastened to its altars, and fell, a small victim, at the sacred hearth. Do you see that eight coins hang from the open beak of the bird? These were just now hidden in its entrails. The victim, Caesar, who now gives omen for you with silver, not with blood, now teaches that there is no need of the sword."[5] The fowl feels the influence of the monarch's *numen* and voluntarily shows its devotion, a small victim for the great emperor.[6] Perhaps, too, the contrast between *argento* and *ferro* indicates, as Weinreich suggests (p. 141), that a silver age is now following upon the one of iron and that Domitian is a prince of peace.

The creatures of land and air are not the only ones to bear testimony to the power of the divine emperor, for Martial gives an example

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1) See p. 108.

2) Martial, *Epigr.*, ix, 23, 4.

3) Pausanias, ii, 35, 5; Aelian, *N.A.*, xi, 4; Ditt. *Syll.*[3], 1051. Cf. Weinreich, p. 139.

4) *Anth. Pal.*, ix, 352.

5) Martial, *Epigr.*, ix, 31.

6) Cf. Weinreich, p. 134: "Aus freien Stücken *(ipse)* geht er — nein eilt er *(properavit)* freudig *(laetus)* zu 'seinem' Altar *(suas ad aras)*. Das Possessivpronomen besagt wohl mehr als nur: der, 'für ihn' bestimmte, sondern — emphatischer und subjektiv gemeint, nicht objektiv — der 'von ihm' geliebte, ersehnte heilige Altar *(sanctis focis)*. So fällt er, zwar *parva hostia*, — doch für den großen Kaiser, für die große Sache opfert sich jeder gern (das steht zwischen den Zeilen)."

of the influence of the imperial *numen* upon the fish. He writes, "Fly, fisherman, we warn you, far from the lake of Baiae, lest guilty you withdraw. In these waters swim sacred fish which know their master and lick that hand, than which there is nothing greater in the world. What of the fact that they have names and that each one comes when summoned at its master's voice. In this deep once an impious Libyan, when with quivering line he was drawing out his prey, suddenly became blind and had his eyesight snatched from him and could not see the fish he had caught; and now, loathing sacrilegious hooks, he sits, a beggar, at the lake of Baiae. But do you, while you can, withdraw guiltless after casting guileless food into the waves, and reverence the *pisces delicati*."[1]

The title *dominus* with reference to Domitian has been discussed elsewhere,[2] as has his *ingens manus*.[3] It is, however, necessary to mention briefly some of the commentary on these lines in Weinreich's *Studien zu Martial* and in the recent article by Dölger.[4] It is true that the ancients kept trained fish,[5] but here it is no question of training, for the fish, which are "sacred" because they belong to the emperor, "know their master" *(norunt dominum)*, quite as did the lions of *Epigram*, i, 104 *(sed norunt cui serviant leones)*, and they lick their master's hand as a gesture of proskynesis. There is, furthermore, other evidence of the ruler's *numen* in the blinding of the sacrilegious Libyan. Perhaps this afflicted man begs not only for alms, but also strives to appease the offended *numen* and to regain his eyesight by the grace of the ruler, who, like his father,[6] doubtless was thought to possess the power of healing. The visitor is bidden to venerate the fish as the sacred property of the god, their master. The adjective *delicati* is interpreted by Weinreich (p. 152) as having a double meaning, "wohlschmeckend" for the imperial table and "geliebt" since the public must revere them. Dölger, however, translates the expression *delicati* by „herrlich."[7]

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1) *Epigr.*, iv, 30.

2) See Ch. VII.

3) See p. 118.

4) See p. 118, n. 3.

5) Cf. Weinreich, p. 144, n. 99.

6) Cf. Bloch, *Les Rois Thaumaturges* (1924), p. 63, n. 2.

7) *Op. cit.*, p. 171: "Ich habe mit Absicht in der Übersetzung das Wort ‚herrlich' gewählt, weil der Ausdruck nach meiner Absicht in seiner Wurzel-

Finally we must consider a parody of these animal *blanditiae* or *miracula* which testify to the *numen* of the emperor. Juvenal's *Fourth Satire,* which is concerned with the council of state that was called to discuss the preparation for table of the huge turbot presented to Domitian, burlesques elements of the type of flattery which has just been dealt with above. The turbot, indeed, like the sacrificial goose, wished to offer itself to the prince (1, 69: *ipse capi voluit*), and this is, of course, a prodigy. Another prodigy, apparently due, like the one just mentioned, to the *numen* of the emperor, is the fact that when the fisherman draws near to the palace with his present the doors open on easy hinge (1, 63), and here *facili cardine* probably is equivalent to the *sponte sua* commonly used to describe such occurrences.[1]

At length Veiento, a member of the council, thus interprets the present of the fish as an omen. Juvenal writes, "Like one inspired by your gadfly, Bellona, Veiento prophesies and says, 'You have a mighty omen of a great and brilliant triumph. You will capture some king, or Arviragus will fall from his British chariot. The monster is foreign; do you see the prickles erect on his back? (123—128).'" A fish had given Octavian an omen of victory,[2] and the goose had afforded an omen of the end of war and of the beginning of an age of peace under Domitian, so the parody in Juvenal seems obvious. Moreover, the opinion of Juvenal concerning the animal *blanditiae* of the reign of Domitian is apparent in other verses of this same satire. Picens says that the fish "wished to be caught," and then Juvenal adds of Domitian, "What flattery is more apparent *(quid apertius)*? And yet his crest rises. There is nothing which he cannot believe about himself when his power is praised as equal to the gods (69—71)."

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bedeutung an das Wort ‚Herr' anklingen sollte. *Pisces delicatos* muß einen Inhalt haben wie *sacris piscibus* in dem Verse 3. Wir können also sagen ‚die heiligen Fische' oder die ‚gottgeweihten Fische'."

1) Cf. Weinreich, „Gebet und Wunder," *Genethliakon Wilhelm Schmid* (1929), p. 397.

2) Suetonius, *Aug.*, 96, 2.

CHAPTER IX

MAIESTAS AND THE EMPEROR'S DIVINITY

One characteristic feature of the imperial cult was its legal aspect. Once the ruler assumed the role of a deity, it developed that any act against his dignity was frequently considered as *laesa maiestas*. Mommsen [1] has collected some passages from ancient authors which make clear this point of view: Tiberius, with his customary moderation, ruled in the case of Appuleia Varilla that no account should be taken of remarks made against himself but that condemnation for *maiestas* should follow "si qua de Augusto inreligiose dixisset," [2] for Augustus was of course a *divus*, while Tiberius claimed to be only a mortal. This attitude changed in time, and under some rulers every act against the monarch was looked upon as impiety,[3] while Vegetius tells how the soldiers swore by God, Christ, the Holy Spirit, and the *maiestas* of the emperor . . . "nam imperator cum Augusti nomen accepit, tamquam praesenti et corporali deo fidelis est praestanda devotio . . . deo enim . . . servit, cum fideliter eum diligit qui deo regnat auctore." [4]

Domitian, adopting as he did in time the theory of absolutism, of independence from the Senate and dependence on his troops, pushed the theory of his divinity to extremes if the sources are to be credited. Pliny, who, to be sure, is bitter and doubtless given to exaggeration when speaking of the 'tyrant' Domitian, gives as the true source of the enriching of the treasuries under Domitian "non tam Voconiae et Iuliae leges quam *maiestatis singulare et unicum crimen eorum* qui crimine vacarent." [5] Suetonius indicates

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1) *Römisches Strafrecht* (1899), p. 583, n. 5.

2) *Tac., Ann.*, ii, 50.

3) *Tac., Ann.*, vi, 47: *impietas in principem* and Paulus V, 29, 1: *verba impia.*

4) *Epit. Rei Milit.*, ii, 5.

5) *Paneg.*, 42, 1. R. Syme, "The Imperial Finances under Domitian, Nerva and Trajan," *J.R.S.*, xx (1930), p. 67 believes that rapacity was a weapon against the Senate and not a cause or motive of the trials.

that slight pretexts sufficed to bring about conviction: "Satis erat obici qualecumque factum dictumve adversus maiestatem principis."[1] There is apparently some foundation for such statements as specific cases reveal. Dio relates that a woman was put on trial and executed because she had undressed in front of an image of Domitian,[2] and a man suffered the same fate for having associated with astrologers.[3] Of the woman there is no other record, but there is, as far as is known, but one case of condemnation for associating with astrologers: the person involved was Mettius Pompusianus, or, as his name is recorded in an inscription, L. Pompusius Mettius.[4] He was first exiled to Corsica and then put to death. The following complaints were brought against him: it was reported that he had an imperial nativity; he had a map of the world in parchment which he carried about with him, or, according to another version, a map of the world painted on the walls of his bedroom; he had excerpted from Livy the speeches of kings and generals; to two of his slaves he had given the names of Mago and Hannibal.[5] The consulation of astrologers about the health of the ruler or about the headship of the state was an act punishable by death both for the astrologer and the consultant.[6] Indeed, Firmicus says that no astrologer can predict concerning the emperor, for the ruler alone is not ruled by the stars, since "he himself *in . . . deorum numero constitutus est.*"[7] An astrologer named Ascletarion was put to death for having made public what he had foreseen by his art,[8] and fortunately Dio tells us that the prophecy was concerning the time and manner of the emperor's death.[9] His conduct would make him guilty of *maiestas* according to the law as stated by Paulus, and it may be that he was the very astrologer implicated in the affair of Mettius Pompusianus.

The Younger Pliny, like Dio, does not hesitate to generalize on the basis of one case, for, contrasting the conduct of Trajan with

1) *Dom*, 12.
2) Cf. Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 585.
3) Ep. of Book lxvii, 12, 2.
4) *Pros. Imp. Rom.*, iii (1898), p. 82, no. 586.
5) Suet., *Dom.*, 10, 3 and Dio, lxvii, 12, 2—4.
6) Paulus V, 21, 3: cf. Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 35, 12.
7) *Math.* ii, 30; cf. Mommsen, *Strafrecht*, p. 584, note 4
8) Suet., *Dom.*, 15, 3.
9) lxvii, 16, 3.

that of Domitian, he writes: "Iam quam libera spectantium studia, quam securus favor! Nemini *impietas,* ut solebat, obiecta, quod odisset gladiatorem, nemo e spectatore spectaculum factus miseras voluptates unco et ignibus expiavit, demens ille verique honoris ignarus, qui *crimina maiestatis* in harena colligebat ac se despici et contemni, nisi etiam gladiatores eius veneraremur, sibi male dici in illis, suam divinitatem, suum numen violari interpretabatur, cumque se idem quod deos, idem gladiatores quod se putabat."[1] The person who paid the penalty for his *impietas* and the exact nature of the crime is mentioned by Suetonius, who gives the following account: "The head of a family, because he had said that a Thracian (gladiator) was a match for the *murmillo,* but not for the man who gave the games, was dragged down from the seats into the arena and thrown to the dogs with this inscription: 'A *parmularius* who spoke impiously *(impie).*'"[2]

Suetonius mentions other people who were put to death by Domitian:[3] a pupil of the Pantomimic actor Paris because he resembled his master in skill and appearance;[4] Hermogenes of Tarsus because of alleged allusions in his *History.*[5] Others reputed to have been slain "levissima quemque de causa" are the following: Aelius Lamia, former husband of Domitia, because he had made sarcastic remarks with reference to Domitian's having taken his wife from him, remarks said to have been made before Domitian's reign;[6] Salvius Cocceianus was executed for having celebrated the birthday of his uncle, the emperor Otho;[7] the governor of Britain, Sallustius Lucullus, was slain for permitting some lances of new shape to be called "Lucullean;"[8] Junius Rusticus suffered death for publishing eulogies of Paetus Thrasea and Helvidius Priscus and calling them *sanctissimi viri.*[9]

1) *Paneg.,* 33, 3—4.

2) *Dom.,* 10, 1.

3) I do not refer here to those, who, according to Suetonius, were accused of plotting revolution.

4) *Dom.,* 10, 1. The suggestion is that Domitian was incensed at the similarity to the man who had had adulterous relations with Domitia.

5) *Dom.,* 10, 1. Nothing certain is known of Hermogenes (cf. Janssen, *op. cit.,* pp. 47—48).

6) *Dom.,* 10, 2.

7) *Dom.,* 10, 3.

8) *Dom.,* 10, 3.

9) *Dom.,* 10, 3.

The application of the term *sanctissimus* to mere men (and especially to enemies of Caesarism) would be an injury to the majesty of the emperor and his family, who alone of men were sacred (cf. Sauter, pp. 105—116). The younger Helvidius was executed because in a farce he had reproved under the characters of Paris and Oenone the emperor's divorce from his wife;[1] Domitian's cousin, Flavius Sabinus, paid with his life for the fact that a herald in desiring to proclaim Sabinus *consul,* announced him to the public as *emperor.*[2]

There is no need to mention the many other cases of condemnation during Domitian's reign,[3] for sufficient evidence has been adduced to show that Domitian did not hesitate to punish as *laesa maiestas* offences in either word or deed against his person. Prosecution took place, I believe, because the emperor represented the *state,* and not because of haughty belief in his own divinity. That this was the case is indicated by Tacitus' account of Tiberius' action when Lucius Ennius was charged with *maiestas* for having converted a silver statue of the emperor to ordinary use as silver plate. Tiberius forbade the trial of Ennius. Then the distinguished jurist, Ateius Capito, "humani *divinique* iuris sciens," made the following protest: "Non enim debere eripi patribus vim statuendi neque tantum maleficium impune habendum; sane lentus in suo dolore esset: *rei publicae iniurias ne largiretur* (*Ann.*, III, 70)." Injury to the person or divinity of the ruler was, therefore, considered by one school of thought as an injury to the state. Domitian, unlike Tiberius, merely accepted the reasoning of Capito. It seems, too, that action was taken against persons who were dangerous elements and might through their impiety towards the emperor endanger the safety of the state. That the astrologers were a menace to the security of the government is indicated by the frequent banishment and persecution which they suffered under Augustus, Tiberius, Vitellius, and Vespasian.[4] Aelius Lamia, Salvius Cocceianus, Sallustius Lucullus, and Flavius Sabinus, were all men

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1) *Dom.*, 10, 4.

2) *Ibid.*, 10, 4.

3) For a detailed discussion of criminal cases and the emperor's persecution of philosophers, Jews, and Christians, cf. Gsell, *op. cit,* chapters vii—xi.

4) Cf. Riess, art. "Astrologie," *RE.* ii (1896), 1819.

of distinction and members of the aristocratic party which was bitterly opposed to Domitian and his government. I strongly suspect that they were all involved in conspiracies against the state and that this was the real reason for their execution.[1] Two remarks attributed to the emperor by two of the very writers whose accounts attack him as a despot, indicate, in my opinion, that Domitian was compelled by necessity to destroy most of his victims in order to safeguard not the actual sanctity of his person but the security of the regime: "He was accustomed," writes Suetonius, "to say that the fate of princes was most unhappy, since no one believed that they had discovered a conspiracy unless they had been killed."[2] Dio credits him with the statement that "the emperors who did not punish many people were not good but fortunate."[3] Writings, because of their reaching a wide audience, might well be considered seditious and dangerous to the public weal, and philosophers of the type of Junius Rusticus and the younger Helvidius were champions of republicanism and enemies of the empire, so that praise of Helvidius Priscus was undoubtedly an attack on the existing government.[4]

The sanctity which invested the monarch was on the one hand founded upon the fact that he represented the majesty of the state, while at the same time there was, especially in the East, a long tradition for exalting the all-powerful ruler to the rank of the gods, than whom, to many, he probably seemed more real and able to act in their behalf or to their harm. A convenient test of loyalty to the state was the requirement of sacrifice to the emperor or his genius.[5] It is no wonder that the monotheism of both Jews and Christians passed for atheism, for disloyalty to the Empire as represented in the person of the emperor. We hear, for example, of a charge brought against Flavius Clemens and his wife and other people who had adopted Jewish ways, and this is an ἔγκλημα ἀθεότητος,[6] a charge forbidden by Nerva.[7] As Gsell points out (p. 312),

1) Cf. Gsell, *op., cit.* pp. 247 ff. on the existence of conspiracies.
2) *Dom.*, 21.
3) *Epit.* lxvii, 2, 3.
4) Cf. Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 280.
5) Pliny, *Epist. ad Traianum*, 96, 6.
6) Dio, *Epit.* lxvii, 14, 1 ff.
7) *Ibid.*, lxviii, 1, 1.

the Jews and Christians were guilty of atheism in Roman eyes because they refused to recognize the deities of the Roman state, and failure to worship the *divi* and at least the *genius* of the emperor was an indication of disloyalty to the emperor and the government which he represented. The attitude of the Jews and Christians towards Titus, capturer of Jerusalem, and his brother Domitian, who insisted on worship for himself and his father and brother, was hostile. This attitude is shown, according to Schütz,[1] in the Revelation of St. John, where Titus and Domitian are represented as two animals, Titus the first beast and Domitian the second. The first beast is shown as Nero returned again as Titus, and he is worshipped "by all that dwell upon earth . . . whose names are not written in the book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world."[2]

The second beast, Domitian, "causeth the earth and them which dwell therein to worship the first beast [Titus],"[3] and we have seen that Domitian had actually consecrated his brother. St. John says (13, 13) that Domitian wrought wonders (13, 14), "And deceiveth them that dwell on the earth for the sake of the signs [of his own divinity], signs which he had power to do in the sight of the beast; saying to them that dwell on the earth, that they should make an image to the beast, which had the wound by a sword, and did live (13, 15). And he had power to give life into the image of the beast, that the image of the beast should both speak, and cause as many as would not worship the image of the beast should be killed." Schütz (p. 50) suggests that in verses 14—15 may be the idea that Domitian turned "the dead *Divus Titus* into the living *Divus Titus,* who was Domitian himself." The severest punishment was visited upon those who refused the proskynesis required by the imperial cult.[4] The miracles wrought are apparently natural phenomena, since it is explained that the beast "maketh fire come down from heaven on the earth in the sight of men."[5]

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1) *Die Offenbarung des Johannes* (1933).

2) John, *Rev.* 13, 8; cf. 13, 4 and Schütz, *op. cit.,* pp. 48—50.

3) John, *Rev.* 13, 11—12 and Schütz, *op. cit.,* p. 50.

4) On the image of the beast and its worship cf. also *Rev.* of St. John, 15, 2; 16, 2; 19, 20.

5) St. John, *Rev.*, 13, 13.

St. John, in the last three verses of the 13th chapter, has taken a figure from slave life, the stigma or mark placed upon slaves. As the Christians were marked, figuratively speaking, as slaves of god, so the pagan followers of the imperial cult were marked with the name of the beast, Domitian, the Anti-Christ, whose seal is the coin, needed for all buying and selling, which bore his image, name, and date.[1] That the conception of Domitian as a beast is not peculiar to St. John or the Christians is shown by the fact that Pliny in the *Panegyricus* designates that emperor as *immanissima belua* (48, 3), *saevissimus dominus* (52, 7), *optimi cuiusque spoliator et carnifex* (90, 5), and *incestus princeps* (52, 3), while Juvenal speaks of him as *clades et pestis* (IV, 84).[2]

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1) Cf. Schütz, *op. cit.*, pp. 53—66. The verses are the following: " And he causeth all, both small and great, rich and poor, free and bond, to receive a mark in their right hand or in their foreheads: And that no man might buy or sell, save he that had the mark, or the name of the beast, or the number of his name. Here is wisdom. Let him that hath understanding count the number of the beast: for it is the number of a man; and his number is six hundred threescore and six."

2) Cf. Schütz, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

CHAPTER X

DOMITIAN AND JUPITER

Several terms frequently applied to Domitian by the poets Martial and Statius are, I believe, related to the comparison made between Domitian who rules the earth and Jupiter who is monarch of the gods. I refer to the terms *praeses, pater* and *parens,* all of which have recently been discussed by Sauter, who points out that *praeses* is an epithet of gods;[1] in some cases *pater* was perhaps used because of the emperor's title of *pater patriae,* though it was also a favorite epithet of deities.[2] *Parens* was frequently used in the language of Stoic religious teaching and has a religious significance when used with reference to Domitian.[3] It is, in my opinion, highly probable that these terms were all generally related to the conception of the Ausonian Jupiter, Domitian, as guardian of the city of Rome and of the world, and *pater* of mankind, just as Jupiter in heaven held sway over, and was father of the gods.

Martial designated Domitian as *praeses mundi* (V, 3, 3) and *praeses* of Rome (V, 7, 4); he also uses the phrase *te praeside* three times with reference to Domitian (VI, 2, 5; VIII, 80, 5; IX, 18, 1) and once each with reference to Titus (*Lib. Spect.*, 2, 11) and Nerva (XI, 2, 6). Similarly Statius speaks of the ruler as *praeses Ausonius* (*Silv.*, I, 2, 175), *magnus praeses* (*Silv.*, V, 2, 176) and of the *numina magni praesidis* (*Silv.*, III, 3, 183—184).

The adjective "Ausonian," and sometimes "Latian," is used, I believe, to differentiate the monarch from the father and ruler in heaven. Martial calls Domitian *Ausonius pater* (IX, 8, 6), and Statius addresses him once as *pater* without qualification (*Silv.*, V, 1, 167), but otherwise with some qualification to mark him as the father of Rome or of the Roman world: *Ausoniae pater augustissimus urbis*

1) *Op. cit.*, p. 28.
2) *Ibid.*, pp. 28—30.
3) *Ibid.*, pp. 30—31.

(*Silv.*, IV, 8, 20); *Latiae pater inclitus urbis* (*Silv.*, I, 4, 95); *pater inclitus orbis* (*Silv.*, III, 4, 48). The same sort of qualification is also regularly found when the word *parens* is applied to Domitian, as the following cases show: Statius in the *Silvae* names the ruler *parens Latius* (I, 2, 178), *Romanus parens* (IV, 3, 108), *regnator terrarum orbisque subacti magnus parens* (IV, 2, 14—15), *magnus parens mundi* (IV, 1, 17); Martial calls him *summus mundi rector et parens orbis* (VII, 7, 5) and *summus Rheni domitor et parens orbis* (IX, 6, 1).[1] The comparison between Jupiter, father of the gods and heaven, and of the emperor, his counterpart among men on earth, attracted the notice of mankind when the Roman imperial cult was in its beginning.[2]

With the court poets the most popular comparison or identification of the emperor is that with Jupiter. Martial speaks of Minerva as privy to the plans *nostri . . . Tonantis,* with reference to the emperor, though in the same passage the ruler is distinguished from the Olympian deity (VI, 10). The monarch is also called *noster Tonans* in a poem where Martial, praising the work of Rabirius, builder of the Palace, says that if Pisa desires a temple worthy of the Phidian Zeus she will ask "Our Thunderer" for a loan of Rabirius' services (VII, 56). The prince at the Saturnalia is spoken of as *noster Iuppiter* (XIV, 1). Latinus, the comic actor, is the servant of Rome's Jupiter, Domitian (IX, 28, 10). Statius calls the emperor "noster Iuppiter," though contrasting his showers of presents at an entertainment during the Saturnalia with the rains of Jupiter in the sky (*Silv.*, I, 6, 25—27). In asking the emperor to provide a supply of water for his house Martial playfully says that the water will be a Castalian fount or a shower of Jupiter (IX, 18, 7—8), thus comparing his monarch to the god of rain.

The same idea of the ruler as a Jupiter on earth is expressed

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1) The use of *parens* is different when Statius, *Silv.*, IV, 3, 139, calls Domitian *dux hominum et parens deorum*, for he is doubtless referring to the apotheosis of the emperor's son.

2) Ward, "The Association of Augustus with Jupiter," *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni,* ix (1933), pp. 203—224. Cf. Riewald, *op. cit.*, pp. 273—277. On the representation of Octavian on the coinage with the thunderbolt behind his head cf. L. Laffranchi, "Gli ampiamenti del pomerio di Roma," *Bull. Com.* xlvii (1921), p. 25.

again by Statius, who mentions him as *Iuppiter Ausonius,* in contrast to the other Jupiter in heaven (*Silv.,* III, 4, 12 ff.).

Sauter (pp. 57—58) cites in connection with the conception of Domitian as *Noster Iuppiter* two passages, one in Martial (VII, 2, 6), where he is called *noster deus,* and the other in Statius' *Silvae* (I, 1, 22—24) where mention is made of Julius Caesar as the one who first showed the way to heaven to "our *divi.*" Martial, however, in no way suggests any thought of Jupiter, but apparently means "our" god Domitian, probably being influenced by the *deus et dominus noster* phrase; Statius likewise makes no reference, direct or indirect, to Jupiter, but simply states that Caesar was the first to show the way to heaven to the Roman *(nostris)* deified emperors.

Sometimes Martial calls the ruler *Iuppiter* or *Tonans* without any qualifying adjective. Thus he asks Euphemus to call the emperor's attention to his epigrams when the *ambrosial* feast is prepared and Caesar is served with ethereal nectar, since his Muse fears to approach "a morning Jupiter (IV, 8);" again, Martial asks the Muses to request of Parthenius that he place before the prince the poet's verses, for Parthenius as imperial secretary "knows the time when Jupiter's brow is serene (V, 6)." Crispinus, too, is besought to praise the poet before Domitian, in which case Martial hopes that Crispinus "may see the Thunderer always placid (VII, 99)." A sturgeon is sent to the Palatine tables to adorn the "ambrosial feast (XIII, 91)," and *ambrosial* may suggest that the ruler, like Jupiter, feasts upon ambrosia, though it may mean nothing more than "divine." In two other passages, also, the prince is called Jupiter: Statius in his preface to the first book of the *Silvae* employs the phrase "a Iove principium," the Greek ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα,[1] which clearly refers to Domitian, though from its use in literature suggesting the comparison between the heavenly Jupiter and the emperor as Jupiter on earth. The other passage is from an epigram celebrating the end of the Sarmatian war and the return of the emperor to Rome. Martial writes:

"Dum nova Pannonici numeratur gloria belli,
Omnis et ad *reducem* dum litat ara *Iovem,*
Dat populus, dat gratus eques, dat tura senatus (VIII, 15, 1—3)."

1) Cf. Sauter, *op. cit.,* p. 78.

Sauter has argued that the words *reducem . . . Iovem* do not mean Domitian but "der altrömische Juppiter Redux."[1] I am, however, inclined to think the words signify Domitian *returned* in triumph, especially since the general returning in triumph was supposed in the triumphal procession to represent for the moment Jupiter Optimus Maximus.[2]

Again and again the prince is associated or compared (often favorably) with the father of the gods. Statius, invited to an imperial feast, thinks that he reclines with Jupiter and receives immortal wine from the hand of Ganymede (*Silvae*, IV, 2, 10—12); the neighboring palace of the Thunderer looks with awe upon the abode of the emperor (20 f.); after such remarks, the poet likens his host to Gradivus, Pollux, Euhan, and Alcides, only to reject the comparisons just made as too trivial and to liken him finally to Jupiter himself (46—56). Martial, in much the same spirit as Statius, is not satisfied with Domitian's lending his features to Hercules, but says that they should be given to Jupiter (*Epigr.*, IX, 101). But even comparison with Jupiter does not always suffice, for Statius (IV, 4, 58) writes that Vitorius Marcellus worships Domitian before the Thunderer *(posthabito . . . Tonante).*

The favors of Domitian shown to Jupiter make the emperor the god's creditor: he has given Jupiter temples, sighs Martial (VI, 10) but has no money for the poet. Jupiter is grateful and protects the ruler (V, 1, 8), and with exaggerated flattery Martial tells Jupiter that the people believe in his existence because the monarch is safe (VII, 60). If, however, Jupiter was to be called upon to repay the Roman chief for all the temples given to the gods, his money chest would not hold enough (IX, 3). Thus Martial portrays his sovereign as richer and more powerful than the gods in heaven. This general theme appeals to Statius also, for he relates how Domitian as a youth defended Jupiter of the Capitol (*Thebaid,* I, 21—22) and how in time the prince rebuilt the shrine of the Tarpeian Father (*Silv.,* IV, 3, 160—161) and restored the Thunderer to the Capitol (*Silv.,* IV, 3, 16).

The Augustan poets had compared the wars of Augustus to the

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1) *Op. cit.*, p. 64—66.

2) On the Roman triumph cf. Bruhl, "Les Influences Hellénistiques dans le triomphe Romain," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire,* xlvi (1929) pp. 77—95.

struggle between the gods and giants, often giving higher place to Augustus' victory.[1] This was a theme which could be adapted to suit the victories of the warrior Domitian, and Martial compares the feast in celebration of the recent victories on the Danube with that held in heaven to mark the triumph of the gods over the giants (VIII, 50). Stella, honoring the emperor's Northern triumph, gives games which the victory of the gods over the giants or the *pompa* of Bacchus would have desired (VIII, 78).

As the well-known hymn sung by the Athenians to Demetrius Poliorcetes shows, the ruler close at hand on earth seems to some — or so they pretend — more ready to hear and more able to help than the distant Olympians.[2] Thus Domitian is presented as a *praesens deus*, a θεὸς ἐπιφανής. Priscilla in favor of her husband worships "the gentle genius of the *dominus praesens*" (Statius, V, 1, 73—74). As it is the business of Martial to beseech Jupiter in behalf of Caesar, so he must for himself beseech Caesar (VII, 60), who for the poet serves as a Jupiter *praesens* on earth. Thus Ponticus prays to both Caesar and the Capitoline Jupiter (Martial, V, 63), and Martial tells Caesar not to object to petitions of the poet, since "Jupiter is never offended by incense and prayers, and he who fashions sacred features with gold or marble does not make gods, but rather he who makes requests of them makes gods (VIII, 24, 4)." The conception of the ruler who is present and can hear and grant prayers is blended with the common idea that poetry has the power to deify.[3] When Martial asks Jupiter for money, Jupiter replies by saying that the emperor will give it (VI, 10), thus making Domitian in a way his agent on earth to care for such matters.

Indeed, Statius makes it clear that the emperor is vicegerent of Jupiter:

> "hic (Domitian) est deus, hunc iubet beatis
> pro se Iuppiter imperare terris (*Silv.*, IV, 3, 128–129)."

The ruler is a "god who guides the reins of the world and *nearer than Jupiter* directs the activities of mankind (*Silv.*, V, 1,

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1) Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 205 ff. On the popularity of the theme cf. Maass, *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen* (1902), esp. pp. 206—207.

2) On the hymn, cf. Athenaeus, VI, 253, and literature in Sauter, *op. cit.*, p. 52.

3) On the power of poetry, cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 211.

37—38)." And the rule of the *deus praesens* is a happy one, for Statius bids Antiquity compare the times of ancient Jupiter and the age of gold with the present day (*Silv.*, I, 6, 39—40). It is true that Caesar can wield the thunderbolt against the foes of Rome (*Silv.*, IV, 7, 50), but in punishing his subjects he can sometimes be content to thunder and not launch the bolt (*Silv.*, III, 3, 158—160).[1]

The beauty of Earinus, a slave from Pergamum, who was Domitian's cupbearer, suggested a comparison of this youth with Ganymede, cupbearer of Jupiter. Martial devotes several poems of his ninth book to Earinus, whose name, sweeter than nectar, is one by which Ganymede would wish to be called (IX, 11). When the boy sent his locks and his mirror as an offering to the temple of Aesculapius in Pergamum, Martial remarks that Pergamum would not prefer instead the locks of Ganymede (IX, 16). When Ganymede, "darling of the other Jupiter," saw the clipped locks of Earinus he asked Jupiter to be allowed to cut his in similar fashion. But Jupiter refused on the ground that he had only one Ganymede, while Caesar "had a thousand servants as fair as Ganymede," the "Ausonian cupbearer (IX, 36)." Similarly Statius celebrates this dedication of the tresses and declares Pergamum, home of Earinus, more blessed than Ida, whence the eagle bore Ganymede aloft (*Silv.*, III, 4, 12—13); and Earinus was not carried to his master by an eagle, but by the goddess Venus herself (lines 21 ff.).

Much earlier than the poems on Earinus is an epigram of Martial (I, 6) in which he tells how a hare played unharmed within the jaws of a lion. As a parallel he cites the fact that Ganymede was borne unharmed in the talons of an eagle. In the last two lines he compares the miracles and the deities responsible for them:

> "quae maiora putas miracula? summus utrisque
> auctor adest: haec sunt Caesaris, illa Iovis."

The birthday and birthplace of the monarch both lead Martial to compare him with Jupiter. Domitian's thirty-seventh birthday October 24, 88, is celebrated as "more sacred" than that on which Ida bore Jupiter in Crete (IV, 1). Indeed, the birthday of the

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1) The person punished is the elder Claudius Etruscus. Ovid represents his own misfortune as wrought by Augustus' thunderbolt; cf. Scott, "Emperor worship in Ovid," *T.A.P.A.*, lxi (1930), pp. 48—69 and Ward, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

Palatine Thunderer, Domitian, is a day on which Cybele would have chosen to give birth to Jupiter (IX, 39), so that in both poems the natal day of the emperor is more highly praised than that of the ruler in the skies.

Again, the birthplace of the prince in Rome, become the site of the temple of the *Gens Flavia,* elicits from Martial a comparison with the birthplace of Jupiter and also with that of Poseidon or Athena, or both:

> " hic steterat veneranda domus quae praestitit orbi
> quod Rhodos astrifero, quod Pia Creta, polo (IX, 20, 5–6)."

The infant Caesar was better guarded than Jupiter, whom the Curetes protected, for Jupiter himself watched over the little Domitian, for whom thunderbolt and aegis served in place of spear and shield (7—10).

Jupiter in another epigram (IX, 34) laughs at the *Idaei mendacia busti* when he sees the Flavian temple of the Augustan heaven, and turning to Mars, Phoebus, Diana, Hercules, and Mercury:

> " Gnosia vos," inquit, " nobis monumenta dedistis:
> cernite quam plus sit Caesaris esse patrem."

This theme of Domitian — Jupiter, so overworked by the poets, has also left its traces elsewhere. An inscription from Laodicea ad Lycum records the dedication of a triple gate and towers to Zeus the greatest Savior and to Domitian,[1] thus associating the emperor with the monarch of heaven. An Attic inscription shows that *adulatio* in the East gave to Domitian, as it had to other emperors,[2] the title of Zeus Eleutherios.[3]

The frequent appearance of the aegis on the coinage of Domitian is discussed elsewhere (p. 168–9), but it must be pointed out that the Gorgoneion was appropriate to both Minerva and Jupiter, so that its appearance on the chest of the ruler would indicate the protection of his patroness Minerva, and also indicate that he was Jupiter on earth, the viceregent of the heavenly Jupiter.[4] Since Domitian felt

1) IGR., iv, 847.

2) Cf. Ward, *op. cit.*, pp. 213 ff.; Ditt. *Syll.*[3], 814; Jessen, art. "Eleutherios," RE., V (1905), 2350—2351.

3) IG. iii, 1091.

4) Cf. Wruck, *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung* (1931), p. 136. He thinks that in Syria the initiative for placing the aegis on the bust of the emperor came from Domitian himself.

under obligations to Jupiter because of his escape at the siege of the Capitoline during the civil wars, and since he himself was represented as viceregent of Jupiter, it is not surprising that special favor was shown to the cult of Jupiter and that types referring to the cult appear frequently on the coinage.[1]

Evidence of the association of Domitian with Jupiter is also found in gems. A paste in the Antiquarium in Berlin[2] and another in the Thorwaldsen Museum[3] show Domitian wearing the aegis. A carnelian represents an emperor, probably Titus or Domitian, with aegis and thunderbolt as Jupiter,[4] just as Martial and Statius did in their verses.

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1) Wruck, *op. cit.*, p. 136: "Weil 'sich Domitian als Vertreter des Zeus auf Erden fühlte,' darum förderte er dessen Kult in allen Provinzen;" cf. Vogt, *op. cit.*, i, p. 55.

2) Furtwängler, *Geschnittene Steine* (1896), no. 5080.

3) Fossing, *Catalogue of the Antique Engraved Gems and Cameos in the Thorwaldsen Museum* (1929), no. 1215.

4) Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen,* pl. XLVIII no. 3; another stone (pl. XLVIII no. 4) shows an unidentified emperor with aegis and sceptre on a cameo in Florence (Vol. III, p. 325, n. 1).

CHAPTER XI

DOMITIAN COMPARED WITH DIVINITIES

DOMITIAN-HERCULES

The poets of the Roman Empire were, in general, accustomed to compare the emperor with the demigods of mythology, with Bacchus, Hercules and the Dioscuri.[1] But mere comparison frequently did not suffice, for, to quote Anderson, "it was a rhetorical necessity that a writer of a σύγκρισις should make out his hero to be superior to the heroes of former times to whom he compared him."[2] Statius is, then, following a tradition, when he says of the emperor in a poem on the new Domitian road, built in A. D. 95: "Now the East will bestow great triumphs. You will go in the path of roving Hercules and Euhan beyond the stars and the glowing sun and the source of the Nile and the snows of Atlas."[3] Again, after comparing the ruler with Gradivus, Pollux and Euhan, he continues: "So would grim Alcides, returning from fulfilment of the dread commands, recline when he had spread out his lion's skin. Trifling are the words I speak *(parva loquor)*, nor yet, O Germanicus, do I equal your features."[4] The reigning emperor is put before the mythological hero.

In this sort of flattery Statius is often outdone by his contemporary, Martial. During the reign of Titus the latter had published in the *Liber Spectaculorum* verses in which he compared the deeds done

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1) Cf. Riewald, "De imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione," *Halle Diss.*, xx, 3 (1911), pp. 280 ff.

2) "Heracles and his Successors," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, xxxix (1928), p. 53. On Hercules as a prototype of superman see Weinreich, *Menekrates Zeus und Salmoneus, Tübinger Beiträge* xviii (1933), pp. 10—11; cf. Sauter, *op cit*, pp. 78—85 for examples of the comparison or identification of rulers with Hercules from Alexander the Great to Commodus.

3) *Silv.*, iv, 3, 155 ff.

4) *Silv.*, iv, 2, 50 ff.; he adds that Domitian is like Jupiter, the *dux superum*.

in the Flavian amphitheatre with those of Hercules and other heroes, often to their great disparagement.[1] Later, under Domitian, Martial takes up the same general theme of flattery which he had previously employed in the *Liber Spectaculorum.* The ruler is likened to Bacchus,[2] but Hercules forms more often the foil for the emperor and his exploits. Thus one epigram is to the following effect:

"Alcides was given, in spite of his stepmother's objection, the starry heaven by the terror of Nemea, and by the Arcadian boar, and by the punishment inflicted on the wrestler of the Libyan palaestra, and by the throwing of ponderous Eryx in the Sicilian dust, and by the laying low of Cacus, terror of the woods, who was wont with secret stealth to drag the cattle backwards to his cave. How small a part, O Caesar, are such things of the sights of your arena! At morn the new day gives greater conflicts. How many weights heavier than the Nemean monster fall! How many Maenalian boars does your spear lay low! If the threefold struggle with the Spanish herdsman should be fought again, you have one (the *bestiarius,* Carpophorus) who can conquer Geryon. Though the heads of the beast of Grecian Lerna be counted often, what is the wicked hydra to the beasts of the Nile? For such great merit, O Augustus, the gods quickly gave heaven to Alcides, but to you they will give it late."[3]

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1) Cf. v: "Whatever story sings, the arena displays for you;" viB: "Fame was wont to sing of the noble lion laid low in the great valley of Nemea and of the labor of Hercules. Let former belief keep silent; for after your shows, Caesar, we confess that this is now accomplished by a woman warrior." In xv Martial tells how the gladiator Carpophorus slew a lion *Herculeas potuit qui decuisse manus;* of the same gladiator he writes in xxvii, "If former centuries, Caesar, had produced Carpophorus, a barbarian land had not feared the wild beast of Parthaon, nor Marathon the bull, nor leafy Nemea the lion, nor Arcadia the Maenalian boar. When he armed his hand the hydra would have met a single death; by him the whole Chimaera would have been struck at once. Without the aid of the Colchian he could yoke the fire-breathing bulls and could conquer either beast of Pasiphae. If it should come to pass that the legend of the monster of the sea be revived, he alone will loose Hesione and Andromeda. Let the glories of Hercules' fame be counted: it is more to have subdued at one time twice ten beasts." Cf. the comments of Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial* (1928), pp. 32 and 36—38; also p. 57.

2) Cf. *Epigr.,* viii, 26 and viii, 78.

3) V, 65. The fifth book was published in A. D. 89 (cf. Friedlaender's ed., p. 56).

The labors of Hercules are far surpassed by the accomplishment of the emperor's gladiators in the arena. In the last lines, too, is the point of the comparison: the emperor because of his greater deeds is more deserving of apotheosis than even the demigod, Hercules.

Some years later, when his adulation was even less restrained, the poet has more to say of the relations between Hercules and Domitian. In one epigram he lists the benefactions of the emperor to the gods, for whom temples were erected. The deities who had been recipients of the imperial bounty were Jupiter, Juno, Pallas, Alcides, Phoebus, the Dioscuri and the deified Flavians. Domitian had given them so much that heaven would be bankrupt if they should try to repay him.[1] The gods mentioned are those in whom the ruler showed particular interest.

This temple to Hercules is mentioned elsewhere in the same book of the *Epigrams* as

> ". . . Latiae . . . nova templa viae,
> qua Triviae nemorosa petit dum regna, viator
> octavum domina marmor ab urbe legit (64, 2—4)."

It was, therefore, a temple to the god at the eighth milestone from Rome on the Appian Way and at the sixth from Alba, where Domitian had his favorite estate.[2] Martial also mentions a *fanum pusilli Herculis,*[3] but Friedlaender is probably correct in distinguishing this *fanum* from the temple and in interpreting *pusillus* as referring to a "small statue" of the god.[4] The adjective has, however, been understood to mean that the legendary Hercules is "small" in comparison with the greater Domitian-Hercules.[5]

In the new temple on the Appian Way the cult statue of the god was fashioned with the features of the emperor. In the two following

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1) ix, 3 (published in A. D. 94).

2) Cf. Martial, *Epigr.,* ix, 101. On the site cf. Canina, "Topografia della Via Appia," *Annali dell' Instituto,* xxiv (1852), pp. 293—294 and *Monumenti dell' Instituto,* v (1852), pl. 47; Peter, "Hercules" in Roscher's *Lexikon,* I, 2 (1886—1890), 2983; Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (1894), p. 119 and n. 3.

3) *Epigr.,* iii, 47, 4.

4) *Op. cit., ad. loc.*

5) Paley and Stone, *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata Selecta* (1896), p. 92.

epigrams Martial writes of the Domitian-Hercules, who far surpasses the Hercules of myth. "Caesar," he says, "deigning to descend to the features of great Hercules, gives a new temple to the Latin highway, where the traveller, when he is making for the wooded realms of Trivia, reads the eighth milestone from the mistress city. Previously the god was worshipped with prayers and plenteous blood; now he himself as the lesser worships the greater Alcides (Domitian). Of him (Domitian-Hercules) one asks great riches, another offices; to that other (Hercules) one makes more trifling prayers."[1]

The other epigram, similar to the first, runs as follows: "Alcides, now to be recognized by the Latin Thunderer, after you wear the fair features of the god Caesar, if you had then possessed that countenance and guise when fierce monsters yielded to your arms, the nations would not have seen you as a slave serving the tyrant of Argos and enduring savage rule, but you would have given orders to Eurystheus; nor would wily Lichas have brought to you the deceitful gift of Nessus; untroubled, without submitting to the pyre of Oeta, you would have reached the stars of your father supreme, the stars which your suffering gave you; nor would you have drawn out the wool of the insolent Lydian mistress nor have beheld the Styx and the dog of Tartarus. Now Juno looks upon you with favor, now Hebe loves you; now, if the nymph should see you, she will restore Hylas."[2] In reference to the pyre of Oeta and the apotheosis of the hero, Weinreich sees a possible connection with earlier poems which are concerned with the presentation of these episodes in the amphitheatre.[3]

One more treatment of this same subject of the new temple is found in the one hundred and first epigram of the Ninth Book: "O Appian Way, which Caesar, revered in the likeness of Hercules, consecrates, O greatest glory of Italian roads, if you desire to hear of the deeds of the ancient *(prioris)* Alcides, learn them." Then follows a list of the labors of the god, after which the poet continues, "These feats wrought the lesser *(minor)* Alcides; hear what were

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1) ix, 64.

2) ix, 65.

3) *Studien zu Martial,* pp. 60—61.

done by the greater who is worshipped at the sixth milestone from the Alban citadel: he liberated the Palatine which was held by an evil ruler; as a boy he waged his first war for his Jupiter; although alone he now held the reins of Julian power, he handed them over and was third in his own world; three times he shattered the treacherous horns of Sarmatian Hister; he three times bathed his sweating steed in Getic snow; loth to lead triumphs often refused as victor he brought back the name (of victor) from the Hyperborean world; he gave temples to the gods, morals to the people, peace to the sword, stars (i. e. apotheosis) to his own kin, constellations to heaven, wreaths to Jupiter. For such accomplishments the name of Hercules does not suffice: let this, our god, lend his features to the Tarpeian father."

It has been suggested that the new cult of Domitian-Hercules with its statue bearing the features of the emperor may have found an echo in the coinage of Alexandria minted shortly after the probable dedication of the temple in A. D. 93. The reverse of one coin has been taken to represent the emperor as Domitian-Hercules drawn in a *biga* of centaurs, while another may show Domitian in the rôle of Hercules among the pygmies.[1] It is probable, how-

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1) For the first type cf. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini*, 1901, p. 28, no. 452 (pl. vii), and for the second, *ibid.*, p. 31, no. 500 (pl. xv). Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen*, 1924, i, pp. 54—55, comments as follows on the types: "Die alexandrinische Münze begnügte sich aber nicht mit der Darstellung der Wirklichkeit auf dem neu errungenen Gebiet. Wird der Wagen des Kaisers von einem Kentaurengespann gezogen, so ist Domitian dadurch in den Kreis der Götter erhoben, die in der Kunst in solchem Aufzug erscheinen. Es sind das Dionysos und der in den Thiasos aufgenommene Herakles, der Bezwinger der Kentauren. Als Herakles hat sich Domitian gern feiern lassen. Martial stellt den Kaiser als maior Alcides über den Heros. Im Jahr 93 oder 94 wurde der Tempel des Hercules an der via Appia eingeweiht, dessen Kultbild die Züge des Kaisers trug. Wir können also den Sieger auf dem von Kentauren gezogenen Wagen als Domitian-Herakles in Anspruch nehmen. Die Nachricht über die Kultstatue des von Domitian geweihten Herculestempels gibt auch dem im 14. Jahr, also bald nach der Einweihung des Tempels geprägten Bild des Herakles hervorragende Bedeutung. Die Darstellung des Gottes, das unbärtige Gesicht, die schlanke, in praxitelischer Linie gewundene Gestalt, die Statuette auf der Linken, die wie eine nach rechts gewandte Pallas aussieht — das alles weicht von dem in der Kaiserzeit üblichen Heraklestyp ab. Vergleichen wir die hohe Gestalt des Gottes mit der des auf der sella curulis sitzenden Kaisers, so scheint

ever, that the team of centaurs refers to Dionysus and not Hercules.

We have seen that the emperor was likened by Martial to Hercules and even called a *maior Hercules,* while his gladiator, Carpophorus, is represented as surpassing the demigod. All this was base flattery, the *Blanditiae,* to which Martial later confesses.[1] It seems almost certain that Dio Chrysostom in his "First Discourse on Kingship" makes a reference to this particular type of adulation. In the work, in which the government of Trajan stands for genuine kingship, he gives a long Euhemeristic interpretation of the myth of Hercules, the first true king. In his account Τυραννίς is given as one companion Κολαχεία or *Blanditiae.*[2] Now Martial had called Domitian a greater Hercules and represented him as a divinity whom the birds and beasts worshipped.[3] Dio takes Trajan as a *princeps,* with Hercules, the type of true king, as a parallel from mythology. For him Domitian was clearly a *dominus,* a tyrant, and no true king or follower of the first of all kings, Hercules, "even if the winged birds and wild beasts in the mountains no less than men yield to him and do his bidding" — a reference to Domitian and to *blanditiae* of Martial.[4]

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es wohl möglich, daß auch dieser Herakles ein Domitian-Herakles ist. Merkwürdig ist dann die Kühnheit, mit der man den Kaisergott in ein Abenteuer des Helden verflochten hat, den Zusammenstoß des Herakles mit den Pygmäen: Herakles hat sich eben erhoben; die Zwerge fallen ihm zu Füßen oder ergreifen die Flucht."

1) *Epigr.,* x, 72.

2) Sec. 58 to end.

3) Cf. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial,* ch. II, for an admirable discussion of the supposed influence of the emperor's *numen* over wild animals.

4) Cf. Weinreich, *Studien zu Martial,* p. 131: "Der Schlußsatz der Rede zieht die Nutzanwendung des Mythos auf Trajans Regime, das dem Reich der βασιλεία gleichen wird, denn Herakles, Vorbild aller Herrscher, ist ihm Helfer, solange er regiert. Also muß, das verlangt die Logik, im Reiche der τυραννίς Domitians Regierung ihren mythischen Reflex haben. Und hatte da nicht wie τυραννίς, ὕβρις usw. die κολαχεία, die Personifikation der *blanditiae,* gewaltet? Die κολαχεία, die so viele ungesunde μῦθοι schuf? Auf Herakles, den Bezwinger der wilden Tiere, spielt der vorletzte Paragraph noch einmal an. Martials *blanditiae* hatten einen Carpophorus über Herakles gestellt, hatten Domitian als größeren Herakles dem alten Herakles als dem kleineren gegenübergestellt. Statt Untiere zu vertilgen, hatte sich dieser *maior Alcides* von ihnen venerieren lassen."

DOMITIAN-BACCHUS

As has been seen above (p. 141) Statius compares the future Eastern conquests of the emperor with those of Hercules and Euhan (*Silv.*, iv, 3, 154 ff.), and Silius Italicus (iii, 605) in the same vein has Jupiter prophesy that Domitian will hold Eastern triumphs and that Bacchus will yield to him. Statius, moreover, compares the ruler at a banquet to Euhan in India (*Silv.*, iv, 2, 49). Martial, too, praises the triumph of Domitian in the Sarmatian war as excelling that of Bacchus. He writes, "Your arena, Caesar, surpasses Indian triumphs and the resources and riches of the victor god: for when Baccus drove beneath the yoke captive Indians, he was content with two tigers (viii, 26)." When Stella gives games in honor of the Sarmatian campaign the same poet says that Stella has given games which the Phlegraean victory or the Indian pageant of Bacchus would have desired (viii, 78).

Such comparison of a ruler with Dionysus was a feature of the Hellenistic period and many examples are known.[1] An inscription from Cilicia shows that two priests zealous in the interest of the imperial cult, L. Valerius Niger and his son, Lucius Valerius Varus Pollio, apparently assimilated Domitian to Dionysus by erecting a temple to the emperor as Dionysus καλλικάρπος.[2]

A few further comparisons occur in the poets. Statius (*Silv.* IV, 2, 46—48) likens the ruler at the feast to Mars and Pollux. Martial compares Domitian's birthplace with that of Athena or Poseidon, or of both.[3] It is apparently as Apollo that Domitian is pictured as inspiring Fortuna at Antium[4] or, as god of the Castalian fount, supplying with water Martial's household.[5] Nor does Statius fail to touch upon the same theme, for he writes of Domitian's colossal equestrian statue that Rhodes would prefer it, with its eyes imitating sidereal flames, and scorn its own Phoebus.[6]

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1) Cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 86—87, on Alexander the Great, the Seleucids and Ptolemies, Demetrius Poliorcetes, Mithradates, Pompey, Marius, and Mark Antony.

2) Keil u. Wilhelm, *Jahreshefte* xviii, Beibl., pp. 56—58; cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 88.

3) Cf. ix, 20, 5—6; chapter X (on Jupiter), p. 139.

4) Martial V, 1, 3; cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 89.

5) Martial, ix, 18, 7—8.

6) *Silv.*, i, 1, 103—104.

DOMITIAN-MERCURIUS (?)

There is ample evidence of the identification of rulers or even private persons with Mercury.[1] It is, of course, quite possible that Domitian, like others before and after his day, may have been associated with Mercurius, god of peace and god of prosperity. But so far there is no proof of such an association, in spite of the fact that Babelon and Blanchet have thought that two bronze statuettes of Mercury in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris bear the features of the emperor.[2] Photographs of these statuettes, however, show apparently no resemblance to Domitian or any other historical personage, and the identification made by Babelon and Blanchet was rightly questioned by Reinach.[3]

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1) Cf. Kroll, art. "Mercurius," *RE.*, 29. Halbbd. (1931), 979—980; Scott, "Mercur-Augustus und Horaz C. I. 2," *Hermes*, lxiii (1928), pp. 15—33; Lehmann-Hartleben, "Ein Altar in Bologna," *Röm. Mitt.*, xlii (1927), pp. 163—176; Weinreich, "De dis ignotis quaestiones selectae," *Archiv f. Religionswiss.*, xviii (1915), p. 23; Kerényi, "De Teletis Mercurialibus Observationes II," *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny*, xlvii (1923), pp. 158—164; Bickel, "Die politische und religiöse Bedeutung des Provinzialoberpriesters im römischen Westen," *Bonner Jahrbücher*, cxxxiii (1928), pp. 13 ff.; Stähelin, *Die Schweiz in römischer Zeit* (1931), pp. 471—472. Cf. also two articles forthcoming in *Röm. Mitt.*, (1935), one by Brendel and one by Scott [= *Röm. Mitt.* I (1935) 225 ff.: Scott, Mercury on the Bologna Altar; 231 ff.: Brendel, Novus Mercurius].

2) *Catalogue des Bronzes Antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* (1895), nos. 836 and 837.

3) *Repertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine*, ii, 1 (1897), pp. *152 and 169.* Professor Ludwig Curtius, who kindly examined the photographs, expressed the opinion that the statuettes cannot be said to bear the features of Domitian.

CHAPTER XII

DOMITIANUS AETERNUS

In the poetry of the time of Domitian is found what had become a commonplace in the literature of the Empire, namely, the expression of the wish that the emperor have a long life. As we have seen in the case of Nero, the poets were as a rule not satisfied to wish the ruler simply a long life; he must have one that surpasses in length of years the span of such legendary characters as Priam, Tithonus or Nestor. In addition the wish of a long existence for the prince is often related to the ruler cult, for time and again it is desired that he prefer to dwell long on earth and only late go to heaven, where he will dwell as a *divus*. This theme occurs in the verse of Martial, Statius and Silius Italicus, and of the epic poets of the time Valerius Flaccus alone omits this form of *blanditiae*, though he by no means refrains from celebrating the divinity of the Flavian dynasty.[1]

The language employed in wishing the emperor a long life is, to a certain degree, also found used of persons who are not of the imperial family. The longevity of Nestor and Priam is often referred to in Martial. Thus he says of Postumus, who always wishes to live tomorrow, "Already that 'tomorrow' of Postumus has the years of Priam or of Nestor."[2] Again, in speaking of Cotta, who has lived for over sixty years without illness, the poet remarks, "He, Marcianus, who thinks the age of Priam and of Nestor is long is deceived and mistaken: life is not living, but being in good health."[3] In another epigram a child who had died young is represented as saying: "Give tears to my tomb, you who read this; so may he who you hope will survive you pass not to the waters of Lethe except when older than Nestor."[4] And finally, at the expense of

1) Cf. *Argonautica*, 1, 7—21.
2) *Epigr.*, v, 58, 5.
3) *Ibid.*, vi, 70, 12—15.
4) *Ibid.*, vii, 96, 6—8. Cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

Clytus, who pretends, in order to obtain presents, that he has eight birthdays a year, Martial remarks, "For who now could believe that so many birthdays were Priam's or Nestor's?"[1]

When, however, Martial is dealing with the ruler, he wishes him a life surpassing in years that of Priam or Nestor, but in language which is extravagantly flattering. This type of flattery in the *Epigrams* begins with the following poem on the thirty-seventh birthday of Domitian, October 24, A. D. 88: "Fostering day of Caesar and more sacred than that dawn on which accomplice Ida gave birth to Dictaean Jupiter, come *often,* I pray, and *in fuller number* than the years of the Pylian, and *always* shine with this countenance or one better. Let him *often* worship Tritonia in Alban gold, and through such great hands may *many* an oak wreath pass. Let him honor the centuries as they return in their great lustre and the sacred rites which Romulean Tarentos holds. Great things, indeed, we ask, O gods above, but things due to earth: for so great a god what vows are excessive?"[2] Here there is, besides the prayer for a long life for the ruler, the suggestion that he is due to earth, that the gods must leave him long to the world before he departs, certainly to take a place among the *divi* in heaven.

In another epigram Parthenius, secretary to the emperor, is thus besought by the Muses to admit to the imperial presence the poet's book: "So may a later *(serior)* old age and a happy one in the future close your course while Caesar is yet safe."[3] Similar, too, is the tone of these lines on the child expected to be born to Domitian: "Be born, O name promised to Dardan Iulus, true offspring of the gods; be born, great boy, to whom *after centuries* your father will entrust the eternal reins; you as an old man will rule the world along with one *older still.* Julia (Domitian's deified niece) herself will draw with snow-white finger the golden threads and will spin the whole fleece of the ewe of Phryxus."[4] Again, as in the cases just mentioned, we find Martial sounding the same note when he writes, "Janus promised to the master of the earth

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1) *Ibid.,* viii, 64, 13—14.
2) *Ibid.,* iv, 1.
3) *Ibid.,* v, 6, 3—4.
4) *Ibid.,* vi, 3.

and god of the universe an old age four times that of the Pylian. Add, father Janus, we beg, your own years."[1]

In three further poems there appears a new note, namely the statement that the ruler will eventually abandon the earth for heaven. So, in addressing Domitian, Martial writes, "For such great services, Augustus, the gods speedily gave heaven to Alcides, but to you they will give it late *(sero)*."[2] Again, he says to the emperor, "May you, I beg, late *(serus)* wish to be the guest of the Thunderer. Do you, O Jupiter, if you are impatient, come yourself."[3] Finally, two lines which were composed to accompany a present of incense, run as follows: "Give pious incense to Jupiter that Germanicus late *(serus)* may rule the heavenly court and that he long may rule the earth."[4]

Statius, like Martial, sometimes mentions the age of Priam, Nestor or Tithonus in relation to private persons. Among such individuals is Manilius Vopiscus, a man of great learning and a patron of letters. Statius prays that he "surpass the limit of the age of Nestor,"[5] and, when the distinguished soldier and statesman, Rutilius Gallicus, has recovered from an illness, the poet writes, "Now twine, O Sisters, twine joyously the bright threads. Let no one reckon the measure of life that is past: this shall be the birthday of life. You are worthy to surpass the Trojan centuries and years of Euboean dust[6] and the mustiness of Nestor."[7]

For his friend, Vitorius Marcellus, the bard prays that "Atropos may grant a long life, and that the godhead of the Latian leader may so appoint."[8] Besides, in a poem sent to Atedius Melior, a wealthy patron, appear the lines "Flourishing long in this youthfulness of mind and ways, continue to equal the old man of Ilium

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1) *Ibid.*, viii, 2, 6–8. Sauter (p. 118) points out that four times the age of Nestor amounted to twelve generations and that the expression was apparently a saying, to judge from its use again by Martial (x, 38, 12–14).

2) *Ibid.*, v, 65, 15–16.

3) *Ibid.*, viii, 39, 5–6.

4) *Ibid.*, xiii, 4. Martial (xii, 8) also has the goddess Roma counting many centuries of life for Trajan.

5) *Silv.*, i, 3, 110; Cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, pp. 117–118.

6) Priam and Tithonus were both "Trojan," and the reference in "Euboean dust" is to the Sibyl.

7) *Silv.*, i, 4, 123–127.

8) *Ibid.*, iv, 4, 56–57.

and to surpass the years which your father and mother bore to Elysium: this they have won from the harsh sisters, this has been won by the lofty fame of the great-souled Blaesus which will grow green again, about to escape silent decay by your witness."[1] Indeed, the deceased father of the poet is characterized as "worthy to surpass the Pylian bounds of age and to rival the longevity of the Trojan, worthy (writes Statius) to see me as old."[2]

Pollius Felix and his wife, like Atedius Melior patrons of the poet, are to transcend the bounds of normal life. Thus in a poem on the villa of Pollius at Surrentum we find the lines: "Be propitious, O earth, to both your master and mistress unto the years of the Mygdonian old man or of him of Pylos, and do not change your noble servitude."[3] In another composition Hercules, to whom Pollius had erected a shrine, is made thus to address his benefactor: "What reward shall I give you now for your deserts? What thanks shall I render? I shall hold the threads of the Parcae and I shall stretch out their distaffs — I know how to conquer harsh Death — I shall turn away mourning and forbid sad losses; I shall with green old age renew you in no wise impaired and I shall grant you long to behold your youthful grandchildren, until one of them is ready to take a bride and the other a husband, and from these again new progeny and a merry crowd now clambers upon the shoulders of their grandfather, now runs in a caressing group in emulation to the kisses of gentle Polla. For never will a limit of time be set for the temple while the frame of the flaming heaven shall carry me."[4]

Often, too, Statius promises the emperor a long life. Then, like Martial, he is sometimes content with praying that the monarch may obtain a long life on earth. Thus, in the poem on the seventeenth consulship of Domitian in A. D. 95, the god Janus addresses the ruler as follows: "Hail, great parent of the world, who with me are preparing to begin the centuries. Such your Rome *always* desires to see you in my month; thus it is fitting for ages to be born, thus for years to begin. Give *continual* rejoicing to the *fasti;* may a purple fold and the robe hastily woven by the hands of

1) *Ibid.,* ii, 3, 72—77.
2) *Ibid.,* v, 3, 254—257.
3) *Ibid.,* ii, 2, 107—109.
4) *Ibid.,* iii, 1, 170—181.

your Minerva *many a time* enfold your shoulders... You will, however, be induced and will *often* promise this day to the prayers of the Senate. There remains, besides, a longer line, and as many times again, and three and four times, will happy Rome give you the curule chair. With me you will found other centuries, and the altar of your long-lived father will be renewed. You will carry off a thousand triumphs if you only grant them."[1] After the close of Janus' speech the poet adds, "O great leader, Jupiter granted you a long youth and promised his own years."[2]

Another instance of the promise of an extraordinary span of life for the ruler occurs in the poem on the Domitian Road. There the Sibyl of Cumae utters this prophecy: "I have seen what a series of deserving years the white-clad Sisters are weaving for you. A great order of centuries awaits you. Longer than your sons or grandsons will you in perpetual youth bear the years which Nestor is said to have reached in peace, which the age of Tithonus reckons, and as many as I asked of the Delian god. The snowy North has already sworn allegiance to you: now the East will afford you great triumphs. You will go where wandering Hercules and Euhan went, beyond the stars and the flaming sun and the course of the Nile and the snows of Atlas; and happy with your wealth of praises you as a warrior will mount and you will refuse chariots, as long as the Trojan fire shall exist and the Tarpeian father shall thunder in his court reborn, as long as this highway more aged than the Appian Road shall grow old while you are ruling the earth *(te regente terras)*."[3]

The same tone of exaggerated flattery appears in the description of the death of Priscilla, wife of the minister Abascantus. There Statius, addressing Abascantus, says, "So Priscilla descended to the shades; there with suppliant hand she beseeches the Fates in your behalf, she placates for you the kings of gloomy Avernus, that when you have fulfilled the bounds of human life you may, yourself an old man, leave behind the *dominus* pacifying the lands, and still a youth! The unfailing Sisters swear to fulfill the prayers."[4] Similar, too, is the burden of the prayer made to Aesculapius by

1) *Ibid.*, iv, 1, 17—22 and 34—39.
2) *Ibid.*, iv, 1, 46—47.
3) *Ibid.*, iv, 3, 145—163.
4) *Ibid.*, v, 1, 258—262.

Flavius Earinus, the emperor's cupbearer, who had consecrated his shorn locks to the god: "For this gift of mine, most gentle guardian of men, if I am deserving, may you be willing to renew with long youth the (or my?) Master and keep him for the world! This request the constellations make with me; this is the request of the sea and the land. May he live, I pray, the years of the Trojan and the Pylian together, and may he rejoice that his own home and the Tarpeian shrine grow old along with him."[1]

So far Statius has made no suggestion of apotheosis for the emperor after death. In several poems, however, this idea appears in connection with the prayer for or promise of a long life for the ruler. An instance of this is found in the lines addressed to Domitian where the poet says, "May the gods grant — for it is said that they often hearken to lesser spirits — that you three or four times surpass the limits of your father's old age! May you send appointed deities to the stars and may you give temples and *inhabit your home! Often* may you open the threshold of the year, *often* with a new lictor may you greet Janus, *often* may you renew the quinquennial festivals with garlanded contests!"[2] The phrase *habitesque domos* seems to suggest that the emperor should forego dwelling in the sky or in a temple as a god, that he should long continue to rule the earth.

Such an idea is also present in the lines on the great equestrian statue of Domitian in the Forum, for in them the emperor is bidden to "use forever" the gift of the people and of the great Senate,[3] while a little later the poet prays, "May you fixedly love the earth and yourself inhabit the temples which we dedicate to you. Nor let the court of heaven please you, and joyously may you see your grandsons offer incense to this gift."[4]

This pretended fear that the monarch may choose to ascend to heaven as a *divus* is also found in two other passages. In one of these Domitian is requested "not to hasten to ascend to the great heaven."[5] The other passage is an excuse of Statius for not singing of the exploits of the ruler, "Of you," he writes, "O glory added

1) *Ibid.*, iii, 4, 100—105.
2) *Ibid.*, iv, 2, 57—62.
3) *Ibid.*, i, 1, 99—100.
4) *Ibid.*, i, 1, 105—107.
5) *Ibid.*, iv, 2, 22.

to Latin fame, you whom, succeeding early to the recent undertakings of your father, Rome desires to be hers forever *(aeternum)*. Although a closer bound confine all the stars, and the shining expanse of heaven which does not know the Pleiades and Boreas and the rending thunderbolt, invite you, although he who bridles the fiery-footed horses himself place upon your locks the diadem which sheds its rays on high, or Jupiter yield to you an equal share of the great heaven, do you remain content with holding the reins of mankind, O ruler over waves and land; and do you grant constellations."[1]

Finally, a single passage in the *Punica* of Silius Italicus shows that Martial and Statius were not the only poets of the Flavian age to employ the theme of *"serus in caelum redeas."* For Silius represents Jupiter as making a prophecy to Venus, in the course of which he addresses Domitian as follows: "Nor shall the conflagration of the Tarpeian height terrify you; among the sacrilegious flames you will be preserved for the earth, for a long participation in the world awaits you... Then do you, a child of gods and one who is to create gods, rule with the sway of your father the happy lands. Late will a lodging in heaven receive your old age, and Quirinus will withdraw from his throne, and your father and brother will place you between them: near at hand will gleam the temples of your son, become a constellation."[2]

In the prayers for, or prophesies of a long life for the emperor or his son we find that the phraseology is, in general, similar to those passages of like nature which relate to persons who are not members of the imperial family. The imperial theme, however, is marked by greater extravagance in the promise of, or request for many years. Sometimes the imperial personage will live as long or longer than Tithonus, Priam or Nestor. Again, the Parcae promise him a long life or weave for him shining life-threads. Eternal youth, too, often is to accompany the long span of life; a person should live to an advanced old age and yet leave behind the prince still ruling and still young; the monarch is destined to rule long on earth and only late ascend to the place in heaven which awaits him. Frequently, moreover, deities are represented as desiring or foretelling the longevity of the ruler and his eventual ascent to join the *divi*.

1) *Thebaid*, i, 22—31.

2) *Punica*, iii, 609—611 and 625—629.

Thus the Muses, Janus, Jupiter, the Cumean Sibyl, the Parcae, and Aesculapius all take a hand in assuring a fabulously long age for Domitian. Such are the chief features of this theme which long before the Flavian period had become a literary commonplace.

AGATHODAIMON-AION

Another manifestation of the eternity of the emperor is his association with Agathodaimon-Aion. The Alexandrians held in especial reverence the Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων, the serpent which had appeared to the workmen at the time of the founding of the city, and on the spot where it was slain and buried had been erected a temple to it and an altar.[1] In a spirit of adulation Nero was called Agathodaimon in the decree of the prefect of Egypt addressed to strategoi of the demes, the decree in which these officials are notified of the accession of Nero to the throne on October 13, 54.[2] It is most likely that this title was the suggestion of the Roman provincial government, and particularly of the head of the Egyptian cults and chief priest of the imperial cult, the ἴδιος λόγος.[3] In an inscription apparently belonging to one of the early years of Nero's reign the emperor is referred to as ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς οἰκουμένης.[4] The coins, too, indicate that Nero was hailed as a new Agathodaimon, for there is a type struck during the years 56/57—59/60 which has on one side the head of Nero, and on the other a representation of the serpent Agathodaimon with the inscription: NEO ΑΓΑΘ ΔΑΙΜ.[5] It would, therefore, be no innovation for the people of Alexandria to identify their god Agathodaimon with Domitian, as seems to have been the case. On coins struck in 90/91 and 91/92 at Alexandria appears a new type of Agathodaimon; the serpent is shown, without its usual attributes, riding on a galloping horse.[6] Vogt, with great

1) Pseudo-Callisthenes, I, 32 f.

2) Pap. Oxy., vii, 1021 = Wilcken, *Chrestomathie,* 113. The date of the decree is 17 Nov., 54.

3) Cf. Blumenthal, Zum ägyptischen Kaiserkult, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung* V (1913), p. 330; Vogt, *op. cit.,* p. 29; Schumann, *Hellenistische und griechische Elemente in der Regierung Neros* (1930), p. 8.

4) CIG., iii, 4699 = Ditt., *Or. Gr. Syll.,* 666.

5) Vogt, *op. cit.,* i, p. 30 and ii, pp. 8—9.

6) Vogt, *op. cit.,* ii, pp. 20—21. The type is used from this reign until that of Caracalla, as Vogt, *op. cit.,* i, p. 52, points out.

probability, suggests that Agathodaimon is here represented as Aion,[1] the hypostasis of the conception of time and eternity,[2] because of the influence of an event at Rome, the erection in 90 or 91 of the great equestrian statue of Domitian.[3] Statius, in his poem on the statue, remarks that the emperor on his steed watches over the eternal duration of the Roman rule; the horse through all eternity will bear only the one rider, while the monument will stand as long as the earth and heaven and Rome itself.[4] Statius elsewhere (*Silv.*, IV, 1, 11) calls Janus *immensi reparator maximus aevi* and is apparently influenced by the conception of Aion. And Domitian on earth shares in the functions of Janus-Aion, for Janus says of the emperor "saecula mecum instaurare paras (IV, 1, 17—18)" and "Mecum altera saecula condes (IV, 1, 37)."[5] By Statius at Rome and in Alexandrine coinage Domitian is apparently associated with Aion as a symbol of the *aeternitas* of the empire, as another manifestation of the prayer, so common with the poets of the empire and of the time of Domitian in particular, that the emperor may rule over the empire far beyond the years of man and may be late in returning to heaven.[6] Sauter (p. 137) is probably correct in believing that the emperor was thought of as *aeternus,* as a *pignus imperii,* and that the idea was Roman in origin. It was the real source of the prayers for and prophecies of a long life for the ruler.

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1) Agathodaimon is addressed in prayers as ὁ γεννῶν ἀγαθὰ καὶ τρέφων τὴν οἰκουμένην, as πλουτοδότης αἰών. (Reitzenstein, *Poimandres* [1904], 16 and 30.)

2) Cf. Lackeit, art. "Aion," RE. Supplementbd. iii (1918), 64.

3) *Op. cit.,* i, pp. 52—53.

4) *Silv.*, I, 1; cf. Vogt, *op. cit.,* p. 53.

5) Sauter, *op. cit.,* p. 135: "Domitian ist wirklich zum Aion erhoben."

6) Cf. Scott, "Statius' Adulation of Domitian," *A.J.P.* liv (1933), pp. 256—259. On identification of Antinoos and Philippus with Agathodaimon cf. Ganschinietz, "Agathodaimon," *RE.,* Supplementbd. iii (1918), 47.

CHAPTER XIII

THE HONORIFIC MONTHS OF DOMITIAN

From the time of Nero to that of Domitian no new honorific months were added to the Roman calendar; it is almost certain that at beginning of the reign of Domitian only *Iulius* and *Augustus* remained as evidence of the attempts which had been made to name various months for rulers. But Domitian, when after several years he decided to assume the part of a divine monarch, had two months, September and October, renamed Germanicus and Domitianus respectively. Suetonius gives the following account of the change in name of these two months: "After his (Domitian's) two triumphs, when he assumed the cognomen of Germanicus, he changed the names of the months September and October to Germanicus and Domitianus from his own names, calling them in this fashion because he had received the *imperium* in the former and had been born in the latter."[1] The passage just quoted is found in a chapter which contains a list of other divine honors which were received or assumed by the emperor.

In three inscriptions the new months are used for dating. One inscription mentions the Calends of Germanicus and probably belongs to the reign of Domitian.[2] Another is a military diploma of the year A. D. 93 which was found near Widdin and employs the words *k. Domit.*[3] The third, in the museum at Florence, reads *k. Germ.* and is dated August 25, A. D. 89.[4]

These two new names of months are recorded by various writers, and their testimony is as follows:

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1) *Dom.*, xiii, 3; cf. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (1894), p. 45 and n. 4; Beurlier, *Le culte impérial* (1891), p. 47; my "Greek and Roman Honorific Months," *Yale Classical Studies*, ii (1931), pp. 232—236.

2) Dessau, 6644 = CIL, xi, 5745. It is not absolutely certain that this inscription is to be dated in the reign of Domitian.

3) Dessau 9053.

4) Dütschke, *Antike Bildwerke*, iii, p. 165, no. 327.

1. Dio under the year 84 states that Domitian "changed the name of October to Domitianus because he had been born in this month."[1]
2. Janssen cites the following sentence from the *Cod. Parisinus* 1712, fol. 78^{v} (which Boissevain does not assign to Dio): "Thereupon two months had their names changed, September to Germanicus and October to Domitianus."[2]
3. Eusebius merely mentions the change in the names of the months.[3]
4. Aurelius Victor writes that the new names were the result of, or followed, Domitian's victories: "Therefore when the Daci and the band of Chatti had been conquered, he renamed September and October, calling the former by the name of Germanicus and the latter from his own name."[4]

Two of the court poets take advantage of the renaming of the months to flatter the emperor. Martial, in a complimentary address on the consecration of the temple of the *gens Flavia,* writes, "While Janus shall supply winters to the years, Domitianus autumns, and Augustus summers; while the great light of the Calends of Germanicus shall claim a distinguished name from the conquered Rhine. . ."[5] It should be noted that, while the reference is to months, the name of the month god seems to be used. Janus and Divus Augustus, both gods of the state, are also gods of the calendar, and to their number Domitian had now been added. The same vein of flattery lies in the words of Statius: "Not yet does all the year have honor, and ten months desire your name."[6] This suggestion of the poet that all twelve months be named for the emperor does not bear fruit until almost a century later in the time of Commodus.

In Pliny, also, is to be found a reference to the new names of the months in Domitian's time. Pliny is writing in a happier age, and in the following words he expresses his disapproval of the excessive honors that were granted Domitian: "We were consulting about increasing the number of the gladiators or about establishing

1) lxvii, 4.
2) *C. Suet. Trang. Vita Domitiani* (1919), p. 66.
3) See p. 160, note 6.
4) *De Caes.*, xi, 4.
5) *Epigr.*, ix, 1, 1—4.
6) *Silv.*, iv, 1, 42.

a *collegium* of the *fabri,* and, as if the bounds of the empire had been pushed forward, we were dedicating to the name of the Caesars at one time huge arches and inscriptions that would exceed the pediments of temples and at another time even months, and these not single." [1]

A variation from the other sources appears in Eusebius, for under the year 2102 after Abraham (Oct. 1, 85 to Sept. 30, 86) is this statement: "The names of two months were changed, the name of September to Germanicus and of October to Parthenicus." [2] October was, as has been seen, the birth month of the emperor. For an explanation of the name *Parthenicus* I am indebted to Professor Weinreich who suggests that the word designates the month as that of the son of the Parthenos [3] or perhaps of the 'devotee of the Parthenos, Minerva.' [4] We cannot tell whether the name was merely suggested or actually put in use, perhaps as interchangeable with *Domitianus.*

Our sources are most contradictory with reference to the date of the renaming of the months. The literary evidence is as follows:

1. Suetonius: "post duos triumphos" (the first over the Chatti in A. D. 83, the second and third in 89).[5]
2. Eusebius: a. Abr. 2102 (Oct. 1, 85 — Sept. 30, 86).
3. Hieronymus: a. Abr. 2103 (Oct. 1, 86 — Sept. 30, 87).[6]

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1) *Panegyr.,* 54.

2) Latin translation of the Armenian version under the year 2102 *a. Abr.:* "Duorum mensium nomina mutata sunt, sechtemberi (*sc.* nomen) Germanicus et octobris Parthenicus (dicebatur)." Quoted by Gephart, *C. Suet. Tranq. Vita Domitiani* (1922), p. 88.

3) Philostratus records that Domitian was called the son of Minerva (*Vita Apoll.,* vii, 26).

4) Justin (iii, 4, 7), says that the sons sprung from women of Sparta who had promiscuous relations during the war with the Messenians were called "Partheniae." In Elis a month named Παρθένιος occurs (Bischoff, art. "Kalender," *RE.* 20. Halbband [1919], 1577 and 1589).

5) On these triumphs see Couissin, "Les Triomphes de Domitien," *Rev. Arch.,* xxviii, 1928, pp. 65—94. Mrs. Strong (*La Scultura Romana,* I, 1923, pp. 128—129 and fig. 82) suggests that the trophies on the balustrades of the Campidoglio at Rome are probably a reference to the victorious campaign which Domitian celebrated in 89 with a twofold triumph over the Chatti and Dacians.

6) Eusebius-Hieron., p. 161 Schoene (Fotheringham, p. 272), *a. Abr.,* 2103: "Duo menses aliter appellati September Germanicus et October Domicianus." Cf. Janssen, *op. cit.,* p. 65.

4. Dio (Xiph.), lxvii, 4, 4: A. D. 84 (cf. Boissevain) for Domitianus.
5. *Chron. Pasch.* (ed. Dind.): A. D. 86.[1]
6. Aurelius Victor: "Dacis et Cattorum manu devictis."
7. Martial mentions the new names in an epigram which probably was edited in the middle or end of A. D. 94.[2]
8. Statius in the fourth book of the *Silvae,* published in the summer of 95, refers to the new names.[3]

The title Germanicus was conferred upon the emperor after his victory over the Chatti, and the title is employed by Statius and Martial from A. D. 84 on.[4] Gephart[5] points out that September kept its old name in A. D. 87 (CIL, vi, 2065) and that it was called Germanicus in an inscription in A. D. 89 (Dütschke, *loc. cit.*); October, moreover, still retained its old name in 87 (CIL, vi, 2065). Janssen,[6] like Gephart, cites the inscription in Dütschke as establishing a *terminus ante quem* (A. D. 89), while he shows (again like Gephart) that the *Acta Arv.* for A. D. 87 still use the old names September and October. Since a Latin papyrus (P. Gen. Lat., i) employs the name Domitianus in 87—88 and another unpublished papyrus of Geneva of the year 88 mentions the month Domitianus,[7] Janssen concludes that the names of the months were changed in A. D. 88. It is likely that this date is not far from correct.[8] If, as in previous cases, the decree of the Senate had to be followed by a plebiscite, some delay may have occurred between the passing of the motion in the Senate and the plebiscite. Then, too, there may have been delay in the acceptance of the honor by the emperor. It is possible that the variation in dates may be due to our sources having had in mind different stages in the institution of the new names for the months.

We have seen that September was renamed because the *dies imperii* of Domitian fell in that month, while October was selected

1) i, p. 466.

2) Cf. Vollmer's edition of the *Silvae* of Statius, introd., p. 9.

3) *Ibid.*, p. 10.

4) Gephart, *op. cit.*, p. 88, n. 14.

5) *Op. cit.*, p. 88, n. 15.

6) *Op. cit.*, p. 66.

7) Cf. C. Corradi, Δομιτιανός Γερμανικός Ἀδιανός, *Studi Storici per l'Antichità Classica,* iii (1910), p. 401.

8) Corradi, "Domitianae Kalendae" in *Diz. Epigr.*, ii, 3 (1926), pp. 1959—1960, concludes that the months were introduced in 89 or possibly in 88.

because it was the birth month of the emperor. Doubtless, moreover, it seemed desirable to have the new honorific names follow after Iulius and Augustus, for thus a definite portion of the calendar would be taken up with honorific months.

These names, Germanicus and Domitianus, did not survive the death of Domitian, for the Senate passed a decree that "his inscriptions everywhere be erased and that all records of him be blotted out."[1] Of the months Macrobius writes: "The month September retains its own original name; this month Domitian had usurped with the appellation Germanicus and October with his own name, Domitianus. But when it was decreed that the unpropitious word be erased from every bronze or stone, the months, too, were freed from the usurpation of a tyrannical appellation. Afterwards the circumspection of the other princes, who avoided the misfortunes of an evil omen, preserved the early names of the months from September to December."[2] The same statement is made by Plutarch, who informs us that "the next months (after July and August) Domitian called by his own names. These did not last long, but after the murder of Domitian they recovered their own names again and are called the seventh month (September) and the eighth (October)."[3]

In the Egyptian calendar, as in the Roman, months named in honor of the emperor are introduced. One of these is apparently Σωτήριος or Σωτήρειος, of which we have the following examples: Lond., ii, 141, p. 181 (A. D. 88); *Pap. Fior.*, i, 55 (88); *Oxy.*, x, 1317 (91); Grenfell-Hunt, *Gk. Pap.*, 2d series, 43 (92); B.G.U., i, 190 (time of Domitian [Wilcken]; Meyer, 7 [130]). In *Oxy.*, ii, 289, I, line 9, appears the name Σωτηρίου, and Hohmann[4] and the editors of the *Rylands papyri*[5] seem to have accepted this as evidence for the existence of such a month in the reign of Nero.[6] The editors of *Oxy.*, ii, 289, however, point out that the use of the name Σωτήρειος must be a mistake for Γερμανικείου or Φαμενώθ.[7]

1) Suetonius, *Dom.*, xxiii.

2) *Sat.*, i, 36—37.

3) *Numa*, xix, 4.

4) *Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden*, 1911, p. 72.

5) ii, pp. 147—148, n. 10.

6) The document contains entries of tax payments from the twelfth year of Nero (where the use of Σωτηρείου occurs) to the second year of Domitian.

7) Note on line 9: "Σωτήριος = Payni; cf. *Brit. Mus. Pap.*, cxli, 2; but there

If, therefore, the month Σωτήρειος is not correct in *Oxy.*, ii, 289, we have no evidence for the month earlier than the reign of Domitian (the earliest document is dated A. D. 88) and but one case of its use after the time of that emperor. The month is equivalent to the month Payni of the regular Egyptian calendar (May 26 — June 24).[1] Just why Παῦνι was given this name I cannot suggest.

It seems likely that Σωτήριος was instituted during the reign of Domitian. It is, however, possible that it may have had its origin earlier, for the use of Σωτηρείου in the twelfth year of Nero seems odd, even though it is a mistake. Could it have been due to some recollection of the Σωτήρ of the calendar of Gaius? Or was it filled in (by some mistake) during the reign of Domitian? If the month was named during the reign of Nero and in honor of that emperor, it is difficult to see why it appears to be used almost exclusively in Domitian's reign and even why it survived the death of Nero at all. It was quite in keeping with the religious policy of either Nero or Domitian to be honored as Σωτήρ, but I feel quite certain that the month was a creation of the time of Domitian.

In the official Roman calendar two months, as we have seen, were named after the emperor Domitian. In Egypt, likewise, two new months, Γερμανικός and Δομιτιανός, were established. Of these let us first consider Γερμανικός. Our information is gained from the following documents: BGU, i, 260 (A. D. 89);[2] Lond., ii, 259, p. 41 (93); BGU, viii, 1597 (93/4); Fay., i, 110 = Olsson, 53 (95/6); Fay., i, 111 (95/6); *Genève,* i, 24 (96); Lond. iii, 1187 = *Oxy.*, ii, 266 (96); Lond., iii, 900, p. 90 (1st cent.); *Oxy.*, ii, 390 (1st cent.).

The fact that two of the papyri (*Genève,* i, 24 and *Oxy.*, ii, 266) are dated in the sixteenth year of Domitian makes it practically certain, as Hohmann has pointed out,[3] that Γερμανικός is the equi-

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is an error here, for the second instalment of λαογραφία is paid on Πᾶ, i. e. Πα(ῦνι), 4. Πα(χών) is unlikely there because in this papyrus that month is called Germaniceus, and in ii, 6, Πᾶ must be Payni since it is clearly distinguished from Germaniceus. Moreover, even if Πᾶ in i, 9, could mean Πα(χών), the order of the months would be wrong. Probably, therefore, Σωτηρείου is a mistake for either Γερμανικείου or Φαμενώθ in which months the first instalment of λαογραφία was paid in the other years."

1) Cf., for example, *Pap. Fior.*, i, 55, line 42, μηνὸ(ς) Σωτηρίου Παῦνι.

2) Cf. Corradi in *Studi Storici per l'Antichità Classica,* iii (1910), p. 398.

3) *Zur Chronologie der Papyrusurkunden* (1911), p. 68.

valent of Thoth. As Domitian was killed on September 18, 96, although it took considerable time, evidently in some places several months, for the news to penetrate in Egypt, it is highly probable from two references to the month in the sixteenth regnal year that Thoth is the equivalent of Γερμανικός. This is strengthened by the fact that the *dies imperii* of Domitian, September 13, falls in Thoth and that the *dies imperii* seems to have been the decisive factor in the selection of the month to receive an honorific name in other cases besides this.

The analogy of this month with the month Germanicus of the regular Roman calendar is striking, and in this case the Roman honorifiic mouth probably had at least something to do with the appearance of Γερμανικός as an Egyptian month. Perhaps the month Γερμανικός was instituted at the time of the celebration in 86/7 at Alexandria of Domitian's triumph over the Germans.[1] At any rate, the month appears to have been introduced by A. D. 89, and perhaps before this date. The single possible occurence between 82 and 97 of Σεβαστός = Thoth in *Pap. Leipzig,* 124 (dated by the editor after 89), would scarcely be sufficient to prove that Γερμανικός did not temporarily replace Σεβαστός as the equivalent of Thoth. The new name, however, did not survive Domitian's time, and Σεβαστός continued to be used as the honorific name of Thoth.

Along with Γερμανικός there was introduced into the Egyptian calendar a month Δομιτανός, of which we have the following examples: *Pap. Genève,* no. 58 (A. D. 88);[2] *Oxy.,* ii, 237 (89); *Pap. Berlin,* 8793 (88/90);[3] PSI, x, 1134 (92); *Pap. Genève,* 102 (?);[4] Lond., ii, 259, p. 39 (93); SB, 7258 (lst cent.); cf. v. Premerstein, " Die Buchführung einer Ägyptischen Legionsabteilung," *Klio,* iii (1903), p. 37, for a Geneva Latin papyrus no. 1 of the year 90 where ten items mention the month Domitianus.

Most scholars, evidently because of the words of Suetonius, *Dom.,* xiii, concerning the Roman month Domitianus, have taken Δομιτιανός as equivalent to Phaophi, in which month the *dies natalis,* October 24,

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1) Cf. Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (1924), i, pp. 48—49.
2) In *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* iii (1906), p. 227.
3) Cited by Wilcken, *Gr. Ost*, i, p. 810.
4) *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* iii (1906), p. 227.

of the emperor fell.[1] Kubitschek, who does not give his grounds for the equation, identifies Δομιτιανός with Epeiph.[2]

Nicole, however, proposed the following reading for *Pap. Genève,* no. 58: [μ](ηνὸς) Ἀ[θ]ὺρ [κέ] μ(ηνὸς) Δομιτιαν[οῦ] κέ.[3] Wilcken has accepted Nicole's equation of Δομιτιανός to Hathur.[4]

It is to be noted, however, that Νέος Σεβαστός, which since the time of Tiberius was employed as an honorific name for Hathur, occurs at least three times between 88 (the year to which Nicole would assign the introduction of Δομιτιανός) and the close of Domitian's reign.[5] Nicole's proposed restoration of the text is likewise rather suspicious, for the use of μ(ηνὸς) Ἀθὺρ κέ followed by the honorific name of the month μ(ηνὸς) Δομιτιανοῦ is, as far as I know, most remarkable, and it would seem unwarranted. If Δομιτιανός corresponds to Hathur, it seems rather difficult to determine the reason for its selection.

In view of these facts the restoration of Nicole appears doubtful, and I am inclined, until evidence to the contrary is given, to believe that Phaophi was called Δομιτιανός in accordance with the common Egyptian custom of giving an honorific name to that month in which an emperor's *dies natalis* fell.

It may be that the month Δομιτιανός was introduced along with Γερμανικός, perhaps in 86/87, and in these two cases the naming of the two months of the Roman calendar may have been influenced by the honorific months in Egypt, though we cannot be sure of the dating, and the influence might have come from Rome. These months in Egypt, like those in Rome, were apparently done away with when the *damnatio memoriae* of Domitian was voted.

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1) Lond., ii (1898), 259, p. 39, line 99, note; F. Kenyon, *Class. Rev.*, xiv (1900), p. 81; *Oxy.*, ii, 237, note; Mommsen, "Ägyptische Legionäre," *Ges. Schr.*, vi, p. 119; Herzog-Hauser, art. "Kaiserkult," *RE.*, Supplementband, iv (1924), 822; Hohmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 68—69; Blumenthal, *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* v, 1913, p. 345; Bischof, art. "Kalender," *RE.*, x (1910), 1588.

2) *Grundriß der antiken Zeitrechnung* (1928), p. 152.

3) "Le cachet du stratège et les archépodes, Papyrus 102 de Genève," *Archiv für Papyrusforschung,* iii (1906), p. 227.

4) *Grundzüge,* i (1912), lvi.

5) *Hamburg,* i, 5 (A. D. 89); BGU, iii, 766 (91); *Pap. Fior.*, i, 85 (91).

CHAPTER XIV

MINERVA, *FAMILIARE NUMEN* OF DOMITIAN

Hellenistic kings and Roman emperors not infrequently placed themselves under the protection of a favorite deity. Sometimes they were called the descendants or children of divinities, and often they posed as such. Thus, for example, Alexander the Great was supposed to be the son of Zeus Ammon; the Ptolemies laid claim to descent from Zeus and Hercules, the Seleucids from Apollo, and Mark Antony from Anton, son of Hercules; Demetrius Poliorcetes is called child of Poseidon and Aphrodite, Julius Caesar of Mars and Venus, Augustus of Apollo, and Gaius Caesar of Mars.[1] It is no surprise to find Domitian following in their footsteps.

Domitian's government, at least after the first few years of his reign, tended towards absolutism of the Eastern type, and absolutism usually involved a claim to divine descent on the part of the monarch, who thus could to some degree invest his position with divine right. There may be some foundation for the account given by Philostratus[2] of a man who had been imprisoned "because at Tarentum, where he was magistrate, he had not added in the public prayers, when sacrificing, that Domitian was the son of Minerva."[3]

1) Cf. P. Riewald, "De imperatorum Romanorum cum certis dis et comparatione et aequatione," *Diss. Halle* xx, 3 (1911), pp. 271—273.

2) Apollonius was a real person of the time of Domitian, but his relations with Domitian, as described by Philostratus, are of doubtful trustworthiness. Cf. Ed. Meyer, "Apollonios von Tyana und die Biographie des Philostratos," *Hermes* lii (1917), pp. 371—424; E. Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1923), pp. 403 ff.; Christ-Schmidt, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* II (1920) pp. 379 ff. It is, however, probable that Philostratus had available considerable information on Domitian's worship of Minerva, and the anecdotes told of this worship are surely based upon a certain core of fact. They cannot be neglected.

3) *Vita Apoll.*, vii, 24. In this passage Apollonius replies to the prisoner as follows: "You thought that Minerva could not have had a child, since she is a virgin for ever and ever, but you did not know, I believe, that this goddess once bore a dragon to the Athenians." Likewise in the *Vita*, vii, 26 Apollonius, in summing up the accusations which had been brought against those in the

It is not at all unlikely that there was a municipal cult of the emperor in Tarentum or that, in the municipal and provincial cult of Domitian, at least in Greek cities or in the East, prayers may have regularly closed with or contained a reference to the monarch as son of Minerva. Omission of this point surely would have provided an informer with an excuse for bringing in a charge of *laesa maiestas*. The honorific month Parthenios may indicate that some desired to flatter Domitian as child or devotee of the goddess.[1]

However this may be, there can be no doubt about the emperor's predilection for Minerva, whom, according to Dio Cassius, "he honored most of all the gods, and on this account he was wont to celebrate on a great scale the Panathenaea; at this festival he would hold almost every year at his Alban estate contests of poets, orators and gladiators. This place at the foot of the Alban Mount, from which it took its name, he chose to be a kind of acropolis."[2] Of these celebrations at the Alban villa Suetonius writes: "He would likewise celebrate each year at his Alban estate the Quinquatria in honor of Minerva; for her he had established a college from which men were chosen by lot to serve as officers and hold remarkable wild-beast hunts, plays and also contests of orators and poets."[3]

The court poets substantiate the accounts of Dio and Suetonius. Martial speaks of "the Alban hills of Pallas" *(Palladiae . . . collibus . . . Albae)*;[4] on Domitian's birthday in A. D. 88 he writes: "May he often celebrate the Tritonian maid with gold of Alba,[5] and through his so great hands may many an oak-wreath pass."[6] Statius himself was victor in the Quinquatria, and he recalls how he wore

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prison, remarks to the man from Tarentum: "And if you say that you did not intentionally deprive the ruler of his pretension to be the son of Minerva. . ." Cf. Altheim, "Minerva," in *RE.*, 30. Halbbd. (1932), 1801—1802. On Domitian's cult of Minerva cf. Sauter, *op. cit.*, 90—96.

1) Cf. ch. XIII, p. 160.

2) Epit. of lxviii, 1, 2. On the palace at Albano cf. Lugli, "La villa di Domiziano sui colli Albani," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma*, xlvi (1918), pp. 3—68.

3) *Vita Dom.*, iv, 4. Cf. Janssen, *C. Suetonii Tranquili Vita Domitiani* (1919), p. 25.

4) *Epigr.*, v, 1, 1.

5) This is certainly a reference to the golden wreath of olive, the prize for poetry at the annual contest at the Alban villa.

6) iv, 1, 5—6.

the Alban prize upon his head and had put on the sacred gold of Caesar,[1] how he sang beneath the hills of Trojan Alba and the monarch's hand placed upon him the gold of Pallas (*Silv.*, iv, 2, 65—67). In a lament for the death of his father the poet expresses regret that his father had lived to see only his minor victories and adds, "The Dardan plain of Alba scarcely would have contained you, such would have been your pride, if through me you had carried off a wreath bestowed by the hand of Caesar (*Silv.*, v, 3, 227—229)."

Many of our sources show that Minerva was tutelary divinity and confidant of the emperor. So Martial, with reference to the fifth book of his *Epigrams*, remarks, "The fifth book laughs with the Master. Germanicus (Domitian) may, unblushing, read it in the presence of the Cecropian maid (*Epigr.*, v, 2, 6—8)." Another book of equal modesty is the eighth, and its first poem closes with the words: "Undraped Venus, draw back; this little book is not yours; do you come to me, O Pallas of Caesar (lines 3—4)." Again, the poet, after writing that the emperor has bestowed so much upon the gods that they never can repay him and after citing Jupiter and Juno as recipients of these gifts, adds, "Pallas I pass over; *res agit illa tuas* (*Epigr.*, ix, 3, 10)." In mentioning a request made to the emperor which had not been granted Martial makes Minerva reveal her favorite's intentions: Martial asks, "Tell me, I beg, O maiden, the confidant of our Thunderer, if with this countenance he denies, with what a one does he, then, grant?" Then he continues, "So I spoke: thus briefly did Pallas, laying aside her aegis, reply: 'Do you, fool, think that what has not yet been given, has been denied? (*Epigr.*, vi, 10, 9—12).'"

In another epigram there may perhaps be a reference to Minerva as protectress of Domitian in the word "aegis," although Jupiter alone is possibly meant, when Martial writes: "But the father of the gods protected you, and for you, O Caesar, thunderbolt and aegis served as spear and shield (ix, 20, 9—10)." At any rate, during the Sarmatian expedition in A. D. 92 Domitian wore a breastplate made of boars' hoofs which seem to have come from one of her temples or to have been fashioned in imitation of her aegis, for Martial writes, "Accept the rough breastplate of the

1) *Silv.*, iii, 5, 28—29.

warrior Minerva, O you whom even the wrathful locks of Medusa fear. While it is not worn, O Caesar, it may be called a cuirass; when it shall rest upon a sacred breast, it will be an aegis (*Epigr.*, vii, 1, 1—4)." The same aegis is likewise the inspiration of two lines in the *Apophoreta,* where Martial thus addresses a Minerva in silver: "Tell me, fierce maiden, since you have helmet and spear, why have you no aegis?" To this the goddess replies, "Caesar has it (xiv, 179)."

On the Roman coins of gold, silver and bronze, beginning with the year A. D. 84, the emperor is often represented wearing the aegis, and Mattingly is surely correct in seeing in this fact a reference to Minerva as patroness of the ruler.[1] It is possible that the first appearance of the aegis in 84 may have a connection with the campaign against the Chatti in 83. Perhaps the emperor wore an aegis during that campaign.

Greek coins likewise show Domitian wearing the aegis.[2] On the provincial silver coins of Syria, without exception, the aegis appears on the breast of the emperor from the first year of his reign, and it is certainly a reference to Minerva as his patroness.[3]

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1) *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum,* II (1930), p. xix: "Domitian, as Emperor, normally wears the *aegis,* the attribute of his patroness, Minerva." For examples of coins showing Domitian with aegis see pp. 308 ff. of the work mentioned above or his coins given in Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage,* II (1926).

2) Coins of Laodiceia with Domitian wearing cuirass and gorgoneion are found in Head's *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Phrygia* (1906), nos. 179, 180 (Pl. xxxvii, 5) and 185 (Pl. xxxvii, 6). A coin of Pergamum in Wroth's *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Mysia* (1892), no. 258 (Pl. xxviii, 9) shows the emperor wearing a cuirass adorned with gorgoneion. He appears wearing the aegis on coins of Alexandria described in Poole's *Catalogue of the Coins of Alexandria and the Nomes* (1892), nos. 288, 289, 338, 340, 341.

3) Cf. Wruck, *Die Syrische Provinzialprägung von Augustus bis Traian* (1931), p. 136: "Da die Aegis auf allen syrischen Silbermünzen Domitians erscheint und auch der Typus die entsprechende Erklärung dazu gibt, erkennt man hierin die Tendenz der römischen Provinzialregierung, die dadurch den dominus Domitian, der sich in vielerlei Gestalt als Gott verehren ließ, dem Juppiter-Zeus glich. Wenn Domitian damit in die göttliche Sphäre erhoben wird, so entspringt diese Vergöttlichung nicht der Initiative der syrischen Provinzialregierung, sondern, wie vielfache Zeugnisse lehren, geht dies auf Domitian zurück, der auch in der römischen Prägung oft genug im Schmuck der Aegis erscheint. Weil ‚sich Domitian als Vertreter des Zeus auf Erden fühlte', darum förderte er dessen Kult in allen Provinzen; auch in der römischen Prägung wurde aus dem gleichen

The poetical suggestion that Minerva had allowed Domitian to take her aegis is capped by Statius, who in verses on the emperor's seventeenth consulship wishes him a long life and writes, "Many a time let purple folds and the embroidered robe, hastily wrought by your Minerva, cover these shoulders (*Silv.*, iv, 1, 21—22)."

Domitian encouraged literary pursuits, as we have seen, by the establishment of the contest at his Alban estate. But he himself in his earlier years had shown a keen interest in liberal studies, especially poetry, though he seems to have abandoned later any plan to work in such fields.[1] He perhaps had considerable ability, but we cannot tell how much allowance must be made for flattery on the part of the poets when they speak of his talent. Silius Italicus represents Jupiter as making this prophecy to Venus about Domitian: "He will also excell in oratory the descendants of Romulus who shall have glory won by eloquence. To him the Muses will bring their sacred gifts; better than the lyre at which Hebrus halted and Rhodope came will he sing songs to be marvelled at by Phoebus (*Punica*, iii, 618—621)." Valerius Flaccus in the introduction to his *Argonautica* tells how Domitian

"... shall unfold (for he hath skill)
Judaea's fall, and how his brother, smirched
With Salem's dust, launched firebrands everywhere,
War-maddened all along the towered walls (lines 12–14)."[2]

Statius is not to be outdone, for in the prologue of the *Achilleis* he utters these praises of the ruler as warrior and poet: "But do you whom far before others the pride of Italy and Greece regards with wonder, for whom in emulation flourish the twin laurels of poet and of general — already the former grieves to be surpassed — grant pardon and suffer me anxiously in this dust to sweat awhile (I, 14—18)."

Quintilian is quite as fulsome in his praise of the emperor's poetic ability, and points out in this connection the relationship

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Grunde Juppiter vielfach gefeiert. Diese Aegis als Schmuck des Herrschers deutet auch auf die eigentliche Schutzgöttin des Kaisers hin, die Athena-Minerva, die dem Zeus-Juppiter einst die Aegis als Symbol der Weltherrschaft geliehen hatte."

1) Suetonius, *Dom.*, 2, 2, and 20.

2) Translation of Duff in his *Literary History of Rome in the Silver Age* (1927), p. 434.

between the ruler and his patroness, who at the same time is goddess of poetry. He mentions the names of some recent poets, and then continues in the following fashion: "These are the names which I have mentioned, because the care for the world has distracted Germanicus Augustus from the pursuits which he had commenced, and it seemed to the gods too little that he should be the greatest of poets. Yet what can be more sublime, more learned, and in short more excellent in every detail than these very works of his to which he as a young man devoted himself in seclusion after he had made a gift of the empire (to his father and brother)? Who could better sing of wars than he who wages them in such a way? To whom would the goddesses who preside over letters more readily listen? To whom would his tutelary divinity Minerva more willingly reveal her arts?"[1] Minerva was assuredly a fitting patroness for an emperor who aspired to military glory and also to distinction as a man of letters and patron of literature. In this connection, too, it should be noted that Domitian showed great interest in the care of the libraries,[2] and that those on the Palatine seem to have been placed in the care of Minerva, for Martial speaks of Sextus, evidently a librarian, as "Palatinae cultor facunde Minervae (*Epigr.*, v, 5, 1)."

In Philostratus certain passages reflect the emperor's fondness for the goddess. Thus Apollonius, in his written but never delivered defense, is represented as pointing out how false is the charge of his accuser. Then he tells Domitian that he never heard such accusations from Minerva, who he says watches over him unless he pretends that the gods give him advice on insignificant matters, but that in those which concern his empire or life they leave him to the mercies of the false accusers who are for him as the aegis of Minerva or the hand of Jupiter because they say they guard over him as the gods do not (*Vita Apollon.*, viii, 7). Further on in the written discourse Apollonius is credited with a tactful apology for referring to Hercules: "Do not be angry, O king, at hearing of the deeds of Hercules; for Minerva cared for him, since he was useful to and a saviour of mankind *(loc. cit.)*."

1) *Inst. Or.*, x, 1, 91. Quintilian continues with the words, "Dicent haec plenius futura saecula, nunc enim ceterarum fulgore virtutum laus ista praestringitur."

2) Suetonius, *Dom.*, 20.

In the report of the encounter between Apollonius and Domitian Minerva likewise plays a part: Domitian was sacrificing to her in the hall of Adonis, and when he saw the sage he asked Aelian if it was a daemon which had been introduced. Then Apollonius thus boldly addressed the monarch: "I imagined, O king, that Minerva cared for you as she once did for Diomedes at Troy; for by removing from his eyes the mist which impairs men's vision she permitted him to distinguish gods from men. But you, O king, the goddess has not yet purged in this way. Indeed she should do so, that you might better see Minerva herself and might not confuse men with daemons (vii, 32)."

The story of the young Athenian who came to Olympia may afford some evidence of the flattery which the Athenians after their usual fashion probably paid the emperor. The young man roused the ire of Apollonius by remarking that "Athena was very well disposed towards the emperor." When the sage uttered a sharp reply, he insisted that "the goddess did justly, since the emperor held the office of Archon Eponymous of the Athenians." Apollonius retorted with the words, "Would that he also presided at the Panathenaic festival," with reference, of course, to the story of Harmodius and Aristogeiton.[1]

Domitian's high regard for his patroness is apparent in what is known of his building activity. He began a new forum, which was completed by Nerva and called in his honor the *forum Nervae,* and in it was also constructed a temple of Minerva.[2] The temple of the Corinthian order, hexastyle prostyle, is represented on the Marble Plan (116), and was situated at the north-east end of the forum, where it stood until 1606, when Pope Paul V destroyed it and used the remains for the construction of the Acqua Paola on the Janiculum.[3]

The whole forum was apparently dominated by the goddess, and Martial (*Epigr.*, i, 2, 8) once calls it "*Palladium forum,*" though

1) The account of the young Athenian at Olympia is found in the *Vita,* viii, 16. It may be a fabrication, but behind it all may be a record of such flattery at Athens.

2) Aurelius Victor, 12, 2; cf. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* (1929), p. 228 and Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 74, note, for a discussion of the edifice.

3) Platner and Ashby, *loc. cit.*

this probably was never its official name. Within the enclosure wall and surrounding the forum ran a marble colonnade, of which two columns still stand in the east corner. Above the columns are a cornice and attic, which "run along the wall itself in the intercolumnar spaces, and project and return round the columns, thus breaking the entablature into sections."[1] The attic has a plinth and cornice, and in the space between the columns is a relief of Minerva as a warrior goddess: She wears a chiton and belt, while over the chiton is a cloak fastened at the right shoulder. She is helmeted, holds a shield in her left hand, and probably she carried a spear in the right.[2] Probably similar reliefs once stood in the intercolumnar spaces.

The frieze is decorated with sixty-one figures which are unfortunately in a poor state of preservation. The scenes in great part pertain to Minerva.[3] One scene has been interpreted as representing Minerva among the nine Muses(?) on Helicon(?)[4] and in another has been recognized the punishment of Arachne;[5] again she appears as Athena Ergane, apparently instructing women in the arts of spinning, weaving and dyeing.[6] The suggestion has been made that these scenes are "perhaps to be interpreted as scenes of initiation into the mysteries of the goddess of wisdom,"[7] and that the scenes of weaving perhaps refer to the work on the peplos of Minerva.[8] It shows, at any rate, that the emperor was interested in the peaceful as well as the warlike aspect of the goddess.

The second temple erected by the emperor in honor of his favorite goddess is that known as the temple of Minerva Chalcidica between the Iseum and the Pantheon.[9] It has been suggested that the statue in the Vatican known as "Minerva Giustiniani" was a

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1) *Ibid.*, p. 229.

2) Cf. *Monumenti dell' Instituto,* x (1877), pl. xl and Blümner, "Il Fregio del Portico del Foro di Nerva," *Annali dell' Instituto,* xlix (1877), p. 8.

3) Cf. the *Monumenti,* pl. xli and Blümner, *op. cit.,* pp. 10 ff.

4) Petersen, *Röm. Mitt.,* iv (1889), p. 88.

5) Blümner, *op. cit.,* p. 25.

6) *Ibid.,* pp. 26 ff.: cf. Altheim, "Minerva" in *RE.,* xv (1932), 1801–2.

7) Strong, *La Scultura Romana* I (1923), p. 132.

8) *Ibid.,* p. 136, n. 19.

9) *Chronicon anni p. chr.* 334 in *Chronica minora* (ed. Frick, 1892), p. 117; Eusebius *Chron.* Hieron. (ed. Fotheringham), p. 273; for further references to the structure, cf. Platner and Ashby, *op. cit.,* p. 344.

cultus image and that it stood in the temple of Minerva Chalcidica.[1] A *denarius* in the British Museum has on its reverse a "front view of temple (round?) showing four columns, on podium of three steps: between columns, Minerva, helmeted, draped, hurrying r., r. hand raised, spear and round shield in l. hand. Flat roof, without pediment, on which are globe and fleurette ornaments."[2] Mattingly comments upon the type as follows: "A tetrastyle temple of Minerva, also with a flat roof [he has just mentioned such a temple of Cybele], must be the Chalcidica, recorded by the Chroniclers. The goddess is represented as leading on to battle."[3] As he apparently identifies the temple on the coin with that of Minerva Chalcidica and not with the Chalcidicum, it must be pointed out that the statue of Minerva Giustiniani is not at all the one represented on the coin. Since, however, I can see no way to tell definitely whether the statue of the Vatican really was the cultus statue in the temple or on the other hand whether Mattingly is correct in his suggestion about the interpretation of the reverse of the denarius, I have merely called attention to the discrepancy between the theories.

A third temple to Minerva is apparently mentioned in the *Chronicon anni p. Chr.* 334 as the "templum Castorum et Minervae."[4] The exact location of the structure and the interpretation of the phrase has given rise to a number of theories which are briefly set forth by Platner and Ashby.[5] It certainly seems that there must have been a single building or perhaps a cella of Minerva joined to the temple of Castor.[6] Platner and Ashby, it appears, would connect with the temple the lower part of a "statue of Minerva" which was found near the *lacus Iuturnae.*[7] The building is probably mentioned by Martial as near the temple of Divus Augustus in the lines:

1) Cf. Amelung and Holtzinger, *The Museums and Ruins of Rome* (1906), i, p. 28 and Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (1894), p. 111: "La statue de la déesse se voit encore au musée du Vatican: c'est la célèbre Minerve Giustiniani."

2) Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* ii (1930), p. 346, no. 241 (Pl. 67, 7).

3) *Op. cit.*, p. lxxxviii.

4) *Chronica Minora* (ed. Frick, 1892), p. 117.

5) *Op. cit.*, pp. 103 and 342—343.

6) Cf. Janssen, *op. cit.*, p. 74, n.

7) *Op. cit.*, p. 342; cf. Boni, *Not. d. Scav.* (1901), p. 114 and fig. 73.

Hunc, quem saepe vides intra penetralia nostrae
Pallados templi limina, Cosme, novi
(*Epigr.*, iv, 53, 1—2).

Finally mention must be made of the theory that the Chalcidicum which had been built by Augustus was restored by Domitian and named the *atrium Minervae,*[1] an hypothesis which is not impossible, though it is not apparently considered by Platner and Ashby.[2]

The goddess was also honored as a member of the Capitoline triad. At the quinquennial contest in honor of the Capitoline Jupiter Domitian presided and wore a crown of gold with images of Jupiter, Juno and Minerva, while by him sat the priest of Jupiter and the members of the college of the *Flaviales,* all with the same garb except that they in addition had the emperor's image in their crowns.[3] On the tympanum of the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus which was completed by Domitian the goddess Minerva appeared seated at the left of Jupiter.[4] The reverse of a tetradrachm struck in the year A. D. 82 at the Mint of Asia bears the inscription "*Capit. Restit.*" and depicts the temple which was dedicated that year. It represents a "front view of temple, showing four columns, on podium of four steps: in centre, Jupiter seated l., holding sceptre, to r. and l. of him Juno and Minerva standing, holding sceptres: in pediment, uncertain group: on roof, facing quadriga in centre, bigae (?) on corners."[5]

The emperor could scarcely have chosen a better means of showing his regard for Minerva than by having her statuette placed in the left hand of his great equestrian statue in the Forum Romanum for all to see. We have today only the foundations of the monument, but Statius in his description of the statue writes, "Your right hand forbids battles; your left the Tritonian maid does not overburden, and she, extending the severed head of Medusa, urges on the steed; nor ever had the goddess a more pleasant chosen resting-place, not even, O Father, if you were holding her (*Silv.*, i, 1, 37–40)."

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1) Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 103.
2) *Op. cit.*, p. 111, where it is ignored.
3) Suetonius, *Dom.*, iv, 4
4) Colini, "Indagini sui frontoni dei templi di Roma," *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma,* liii (1925), p. 187.
5) Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 351, no. 251 (Pl. 68, 3).

It is suggested, moreover, that the hands of Pallas herself may have sculptured the equestrian statue (Statius, *Silv.*, i, 1, 5–6).

In his discussion of the types on coins of the reign of Domitian, Mattingly says that "the Minerva and owl of the *semis* certainly refer to the *agon Capitolinus*, in which the honour of the goddess was prominent."[1] If the type does indeed refer to an *agon*, it seems much more likely that it, as well as another with Minerva on the obverse and an upright olive-branch on the reverse,[2] refers to the *agon* at the Alban villa, where Minerva alone was celebrated, and did not, as in the Capitoline contest, in a subordinate position share the honor with Jupiter.

Mattingly and Sydenham have justly remarked that on the coinage of Domitian "the characteristic types . . . are devoted in a preponderating degree to his favourite goddess" and that "seldom has one divinity received such numismatic honours from a votary."[3] The reverses of the gold and silver pieces show four main types which Mattingly designates thus: (1) Minerva fighting r.; (2) Minerva fighting r. on prow; (3) Minerva l. with thunderbolt; (4) Minerva l. with spear.[4] Besides these main types there are many others: a bust of Minerva, helmeted, draped, r. (Pl. 60, 12); a bust of Minerva, helmeted with aegis l., showing breast and shoulders: transverse sceptre over r. shoulder (Pl. 60, 3); Minerva, helmeted, draped, standing, l., holding vertical spear in r. hand, l. hand on side (Pl. 60, 6); Minerva, helmeted, draped, with aegis down back, advancing r., brandishing javelin in r. hand and holding round shield on l. (Pl. 68, 7); Minerva, helmeted, draped, standing l., holding vertical spear in r. hand, l. hand on hip (Pl. 68, 8); Minerva, helmeted, draped, standing l., holding thunderbolt in r. hand and vertical spear in l., round shield resting against her l. side (Pl. 68, 10).

To the warrior goddess Domitian dutifully attributed his success in war, and on the coinage she often appears in connection with a

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1) *Op. cit.*, p. xciv and p. 409, no. 487 (Pl. 81, 10).

2) *Ibid.*, p. 410, no. 490 (Pl. 81, 11). The olive-branch was the prize in the poetical contest at the Alban estate, while the oak-wreath was the prize in the Capitoline *agon*.

3) *Op. cit.*, ii (1926), p. 151.

4) *Op. cit.*, ii (1930): for type 1, cf. p. 306, no. 39; for 2, p. 306, no. 40; for 3, p. 306, no. 42; for 4, p. 307, no. 44.

Victory: one coin shows Minerva, helmeted, draped, standing l., holding Victory in extended r. hand and sceptre in l.: round shield resting against l. side (Pl. 59, 10); on a silver piece of eight *denarii* she is represented draped, helmeted, wearing aegis on breast, seated l. on throne, holding Victory in extended r. hand and transverse spear with two points (?) in l.: her l. arm rests on round shield supported by (?) captive seated l. in boat: on shield, two shrines seen in perspective and four figures in foreground (Pl. 62, 3), and the captive in the boat probably suggests (Cf. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. lxxxvi) the operations against the Chatti on the Rhine; the reverse of a *sestertius* of A. D. 86 shows Domitian, laureate, in military dress, standing l., holding thunderbolt in r. hand and vertical spear in l., crowned by Victory, also standing l., draped, and holding palm in l. hand (Pl. 75, 8); Mattingly (*op. cit.*, p. xciv) says that the thunderbolt of Jupiter "has no doubt been given him by his patroness Minerva." Another reverse represents the emperor standing l., holding spear, between Minerva, holding spear, and Victory, crowning him and holding palm (Cohen, *Description historique des médailles frappées sous l'Empire romain,* I, 2 ed., no. 516).

There is also a type of Minerva, winged, draped, helmeted. flying l., holding javelin in r. hand and round shield in l. (Pl. 67, 1). Here the goddess is represented as "Minerva Victrix," just as in the statue found at Ostia.[1] The statue represents the goddess, helmeted, winged, draped, holding with r. hand a shield which rests on the ground. Mrs. Strong says of this statue, "The goddess, whose wings recall that, as a marine deity, she is always ready to fly over the waters, was placed here as patroness of the harbor of Ostia, which Domitian made the object of his care."[2] Again, on a coin, Minerva is probably heralded as the giver of Victory; the piece shows on the obverse a trophy consisting of helmet, cuirass, shields, spears, and greaves, while on the reverse an upright olive-branch appears as an attribute to Minerva (Pl. 81, 15).

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1) Cf. Vaglieri, *Not. d. Scav.*, 1910, pp. 229 ff.; Keyes, "Minerva Victrix?" A.J.A., xvi (1912), pp. 490—494 would date the statue in the time of Hadrian; on p. 493 he remarks, "It seems likely ... that the conception of Minerva Victrix first became popular under Domitian." Cf. also Savignoni, "Minerva Vittoria," *Ausonia,* v (1910), pp. 69—108.

2) *Op. cit.*, I (1923), p. 132.

In other cases there is a reference to the goddess, though she is not actually represented. The reverse of a *denarius* of A. D. 81 shows a dolphin coiled round an anchor, a type which Mattingly interprets as perhaps referring to a pulvinar of Neptune and Minerva (*op. cit.*, p. 297, no. 3, Pl. 59, 3). The reverse of a *dupondius* shows a helmet on l. and shield on r., in front of an upright olive tree (Pl. 81, 2), while the reverse of another *dupondius* represents an owl standing l. on branch (?), head front (Pl. 81, 6). On the coinage Minerva is usually a warrior goddess, and often, as we have seen, a giver of Victory. This is of significance in view of the importance which had been attached to *Victoria* by the Julio-Claudian dynasty.[1]

The emperor himself is depicted on the reverse of a *sestertius* of A. D. 81 holding a palladium in his extended r. hand (Pl. 68, 9); he is, as Mattingly has observed (*op. cit.*, p. lxxxix), "the Emperor entrusted with the destinies of eternal Rome." On a coin of Alexandria[2] the emperor perhaps is a Domitian-Hercules holding an image of his favorite, Minerva.[3]

Minerva is not honored on the Roman coins alone, for the Greeks apparently wished to court imperial favor by using as a type on

1) Cf. the excellent discussion of Gagé, "La *Victoria Augusti* et les Auspices de Tibère," *Rev. Arch.*, xxxii (1930), pp. 1—35; "La Victoire d'Auguste," *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire,* xlix (1932), pp. 61—92; "La Théologie de la Victoire Impériale," *Rev. Hist.*, clxxi (1933), pp. 1—43.

2) Cf. Dattari, *Numi Augg. Alexandrini,* 1901, Pl. xv, no. 500; Mowat, "Héraclès chez les Pygmées," *Rev. Numismatique*, iv Série, iv (1900), pp. 424—425, describes as follows the reverse of the coin: "Héraclès, debout, de face, la main droite appuyée sur sa massue, la dépouille du lion suspendue à l'avant-bras gauche, dont la main étendue soutient un petit simulacre de Pallas casquée, armée d'un bouclier rond et d'une lance en arrêt. A ses pieds, quatre petits personnages dont la stature atteint à peine ses genoux, deux à gauche, deux à droite; leur attitude exprime la frayeur: le premier, à gauche, tombe à la renverse; le suivant se précipite aux genoux du demi-dieu; le troisième, agenouillé, tend vers lui les mains suppliantes; le quatrième, à droite, se sauve à toutes jambes.

"Le revers représente, à n'en pas douter, Héraclès entouré de Pygmées cherchant à fuir dans toutes les directions quand le héros qu'ils ont réveillé redresse sa haute taille au dessus d'eux; le geste de la main droite, appuyée sur la massue au repos, est le signe du calme et de la longanimité; le Palladium tenu dans la main gauche symbolise la presence occulte de la sage conseillère qui l'assiste dans toutes ses aventures." Cf. R. Förster, *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst,* N.F. xx (1909), p. 45, n. 1.

3) Vogt, *Die alexandrinischen Münzen* (1924), i, pp. 54—55.

their coinage the likeness of the goddess. An Alexandrian type of the year 82 – 83 shows an Athena; sometimes she is of the Promachos type (Dattari, pl. xxi, no. 445); again, she rests her left hand on her shield and holds a small image of Nike in her right (Dattari, p. 27, no. 435). In the tenth year of Domitian's reign a new type, an imitation of the Athena Parthenos, appears on the reverse of Alexandrian coinage with the inscription ΑΘΗΝΑ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ, which marks her as the tutelary goddess of the imperial house.[1]

Athena as a reverse type of Domitian's time is found on the coinage of Aezani in Phrygia,[2] of Caesarea in Cappadocia,[3] of Soli-Pompeiopolis in Cilicia,[4] of Silandus in Lydia,[5] of Attalia[6] and of Mygdus[7] in Pamphylia. It is also to be noted that a representation of Athena was used as a countermark on coins of the time of Domitian at Flaviopolis in Cilicia[8] and at Antioch in Syria.[9]

Further evidence of the emperor's devotion to Minerva is afforded by the name of a new legion which was probably raised for the war against the Chatti in A.D. 83 and which apparently was at first called I *Flavia,* next I *Flavia Minervia,* then, on account of its loyalty during the revolt of Saturninus, I *Flavia Minervia pia fidelis Domitiana,* and finally I *Flavia Minerva pia fidelis* after *damnatio memoriae* was decreed for Domitian.[10] That the legion carried an image of the goddess, perhaps on its standards, is suggested by a type of Minerva standing l., holding Victory, spear and shield on a coin of Gallienus which bears the inscription "LEG I MIN

1) Poole, *op. cit.,* pl. iv, no. 288; cf. Vogt, *op. cit.,* i, p. 47.

2) Head, *op. cit.,* p. 36, nos. 94—97.

3) Wroth, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Galatia, Cappadocia and Syria* (1899), p. 49, no. 29.

4) Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* (1900), p. 154, no. 57.

5) Head, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia* (1901), p. 281, nos. 15—16.

6) Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Lydia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia* (1897), p. 112, no. 15.

7) *Ibid.,* p. 115, no. 1. Here, as at Attalia, the goddess also appears as a type under many other emperors.

8) Hill (in catalogue of coins of Cilicia), p. 78, nos. 1, 2 (pl. xiii, 9), and 3.

9) Wroth (in catalogue of Syrian coins), pp. 180—181, nos. 242 and 247; cf. Wruck, *op. cit.,* p. 190, no. 116.

10) Ritterling, "Legio" in *RE.,* 23 Halbbd. (1924), 1276—1277 and 24 Halbbd. (1925), 1420–1434; cf. Parker, *The Roman Legions* (1928), p. 108, n. 1 and pp. 151, 157, 158, 166, 180, n. 10.

VI P VI F."[1] Another representation of Minerva in connection with the legion named in her honor is found on a gold ring of the third century with the inscription "OPT LEG I M P F."[2]

The emblem of the standard of the legion was the sign of the Zodiac, the Ram, which was adopted for this purpose because the sun is in this sign at the period of the year sacred to Minerva (March seventeenth to April sixteenth).[3] This emblem of the Ram appears on the standard of the legion on the relief of the Column of Trajan.[4] The reverse of a coin of Victorinus shows Minerva, standing, facing, holding a crown and followed by a ram and bears the inscription "LEG PRIMA MINERVINA P F."[5] A reverse of a coin of Carausius shows only a ram with the legend "LEG I M."[6]

The legion may also have left a record on a *sestertius* of the year A. D. 85, which shows Domitian, bare-headed, togate, standing r., clasping r. hands over altar with officer, in military dress, standing l. before him: in background, just seen to l. of officer, soldier holding standard; to r. a second soldier holding spear and shield.[7] Sir Charles Oman has suggested that the scene may refer to the establishment of the new legion, a suggestion to which Mattingly prefers the interpretation of the scene as one of the taking of the *sacramentum*.[8] Both are, I believe, correct. It is likely enough that the scene represents the new legion taking the oath of allegiance to the emperor.

A further proof of Domitian's devotion to the goddess is to be found in his worship of her in a *sacrarium* in his bedroom. Among the omens of Domitian's death is a strange dream which he had: "He dreamed," writes Suetonius, "that Minerva, to whom he paid superstitious worship, came forth from her *sacrarium* and said that

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1) Webb in Mattingly and Sydenham, *Roman Imperial Coinage*, V, Part I (1927), p. 93, no. 322. Cf. Alföldi, "The Numbering of the Victories of the Emperor Gallienus," *Num. Chron.* V, Ser. ix (1929), p. 254.

2) Cf. Klein in *Bonn. Jahrb.*, xc (1891), p. 24.

3) Ritterling, *op. cit.*, 1421 and Parker, *op. cit.*, Appendix A, b.

4) Cichorius, *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule* (1896), II, pp. 227—228 and Pl. xlviii, and Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die Trajanssäule* (1926), pl. xlvii.

5) Cohen, *op. cit.*, vi, p. 74, no. 58.

6) Webb in Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, v, 2 (1933), pp. 468 and 487.

7) Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 364, no. 301 (pl. 71, 4).

8) *Op. cit.*, p. xciii.

she could no longer defend him, because she had been disarmed by Jupiter."[1] Dio Cassius gives the same story, adding, however, an important detail: "He dreamed that Minerva, *of whom he had a statue in his bedroom*, had thrown away her weapons and in a chariot drawn by black horses was falling into an abyss."[2] From these two accounts we may conclude that Domitian had a statue of Minerva in a *sacrarium* in his bedroom.[3]

Philostratus, after telling how Domitian took Stephanus aside "into the men's apartment, where the palace was," describes as follows the resistance of Domitian when he was attacked: "The emperor threw Stephanus to the ground and attacked him, trying to dig out his eyes and crush his cheeks with the stand of a golden cup which lay there for the sacrifices, and he kept calling upon Minerva to help him."[4] Here again the conclusion seems inevitable that there was a statue of Minerva in the bedroom, and further that sacrifices were offered to her within the bedroom, where the murder of Domitian took place.[5]

In the time of the Empire such *sacraria* were sometimes placed in bedrooms for the worship of the Lares and of such other divinities as the master of the household might wish,[6] and before these shrines

1) *Dom.*, xv, 3. On the similar desertion of Mark Antony by Dionysus cf. Rose, "The Departure of Dionysus," *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, xi (1924), pp. 25—30; Scott, "Octavian's Propaganda and Antony's *De sua ebrietate*," *C.P.*, xxiv (1929), pp. 133—141; Immisch, "Zum antiken Herrscherkult," *Aus Roms Zeitwende* (1931), p. 21; Levi, *Ottaviano Capoparte* (1933), ii, p. 187. Cf. Sauer, "Untersuchungen zur Darstellung des Todes in der griechisch-römischen Geschichtsschreibung," *Frankfurt Diss.* (1930), pp. 65–67.

2) *Epit.*, lxvii, 16, 1.

3) It is barely possible that there was another shrine of Minerva in the palace, for Philostratus (*Vit. Apoll.*, vii, 32) says that Domitian had just been sacrificing to Minerva in an *Adonidis aula* when he received Apollonius of Tyana. No *sacrarium*, however, is mentioned, and we know nothing further of the *Adonidis aula* (cf. Platner and Ashby, *Topographical Dictionary of Rome* [1929], p. 1). Cf. Scott, "Le 'sacrarium Minervae' de Domitien," *Rev. Arch.*, vi (1935), pp. 69—72.

4) *Vit. Apoll.*, viii, 25. The mention of the cup *for the sacrifices* shows that there must have been an altar in the room.

5) Suetonius, *Dom.*, xvi—xvii. He had retired for his afternoon siesta at the fifth hour; cf. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (1894), pp. 328–329.

6) Boehm, "Lares" in RE., 23 Halbbd. (1924), 817. Cf. *N. d. Scavi* (1878), p. 268 and (1885), p. 536; De Marchi, *Il Culto Privato* (1896), I, p. 82. On shrines of the Virgin in bedrooms in Italy in modern times, cf. Jordan, "De Larum Imaginibus atque Cultu," *Annali dell' Istituto*, xxxiv (1862), pp. 331–332.

altars, sometimes portable ones, were used.[1] It is known, moreover, that a *sacrarium* existed in the *cubiculum* of some of the emperors,[2] and in the case of Domitian Suetonius states that a source of information concerning the murder of the emperor was a boy, "*qui curae Larum cubiculi ex consuetudine assistens interfuit caedi.*"[3] The possibility that there were two separate *sacraria* in Domitian's bedroom, one for the Lares and one for Minerva, must be admitted, but this seems highly improbable, for it would be quite natural for the emperor to have a statue of his patron goddess[4] in the household shrine of the Lares.

There is, I believe, a representation of this very *sacrarium* on *sestertii* of a type which is first coined in A. D. 85.[5] The reverse of a specimen of that year is described as follows by Mattingly: "Domitian, togate, veiled, standing l., sacrificing out of patera in r. hand over lighted altar: in background on l., a shrine of Minerva, showing two columns in front and a third on r. side, with pediment in which is round shield: in the shrine, Minerva, helmeted, draped, standing r., holding owl and spear. S. C. l. and r. in field."[6] One correction seems to be called for in the above description, for the object which is called a "round shield" can scarcely be taken for anything other than a patera.

1) Cf. Hild, "Lar" in *Dict. des Ant.*, 942.

2) Cf. Boehm, *loc. cit.*; De Marchi, *loc. cit.*; Wissowa, "Lares" in Roscher's *Lexikon* II 2, 1884.

3) *Dom.*, xvii, 2. A person who had perhaps served in the same capacity is called "*Caesaris Nost. Ser. Custos Lar. Min.*" in *CIL*, viii Suppl. 12918 = *Eph. Ep.*, v, 429.

4) Cf. Altheim, "Minerva" in RE., xv (1932), 1801—1802 and Janssen, *C. Suetonii Tranquili Vita Domitiani* (1919), pp. 74—75, note.

5) Mattingly, *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum*, ii (1930), p. xcii, remarks, "In A. D. 85 begins the great series of sestertii, characteristic of the reign, on which the German victories are elaborately celebrated," and on p. xciii he adds, "Minerva is not represented here by her own types, as on the gold and silver, but by a type that recurs year after year of Domitian sacrificing before the goddess in a little shrine. While recording his achievements, Domitian does not omit to acknowledge the goddess to whom they are due."

6) *Ibid.*, p. 363, no. 296 (Pl. 71, 1); cf. also p. 363, no. 297; p. 370, nos. 332 (Pl. 72, 11) and 333; p. 381, no. 376; p. 386; p. 389, no. 408 (Pl. 77, 4). Cf. Mattingly and Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage*, ii (1926), p. 186, no. 256 and p. 190, no. 283 (Pl. VI, no. 91); Bernhardt, *Handbuch zur Münzkunde der römischen Kaiserzeit* (1926), Pl. 57, no. 5, described as "Kaiser auf Altar vor Tempel opfernd."

A similar patera holds the same position in the pediment of a shrine of the Lares in the atrium of the House of the Vettii at Pompeii. At Pompeii the nitch is flanked by two Corinthian half-columns and surmounted by a tympanum which contains in relief in the centre an umbilicate patera — just as is the case with the tympanum of the shrine shown on the *sestertius* — with a knife to the right and a bucranium to the left.[1] It should, furthermore, be noted that the patera is a common attribute of the Lares.[2] It is true that on the coin a statue of Minerva only is depicted within the shrine, but it is quite possible, in view of the restricted space on the *sestertius* and also of the probable desire of the artist to emphasize Minerva,[3] that the Lares were not pictured on the coin even though they may actually have been present in the shrine.

This shrine of four very tall columns reminds one of the baldachin in the Basilica of St. Peter's in Rome. There is no podium as in ordinary *lararia*, and in general the *lararia* of private homes are of a different character. But on the other hand one would expect to find something different and more grandiose in the imperial palace. If there were not two separate *sacraria* in the *cubiculum* of Domitian — a supposition which in my opinion is very unlikely — then the *sacrarium Minervae* of Domitian is identical with the *lararium* of the imperial bedroom and is probably the shrine represented on the *sestertius* described above.

Herr v. Blanckenhagen has suggested to me that certain architectonic fragments found near the Piazza Esedra in Rome and now in the Museo Nazionale may be the remains of a large and ornate *lararium*. They consist of two sections of entablature and two columns. The entablature is decorated horizontally with denticulations, strings of beads, rows of leaves, and through the middle by a frieze of griffins between each of which is an object like a candelabrum.

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1) Cf. Mau, *Röm. Mitt.*, xi (1896), p. 29; Sogliano, *Mon. Linc.*, viii, p. 268; cf. Mau-Kelsey, *Pompeii*, p. 265, fig. 122 and Hermann, *Denkmäler der Malerei des Altertums* (1904—1931), p. 59 and Pl. 48.

2) Pottier, " patera " in *Dict. des Ant.*, iv, 341.

3) Mattingly and Sydenham, *op. cit.*, ii, p. 151 write: " The characteristic types of Domitian himself are devoted in a preponderating degree to his favourite goddess, Minerva . . . Seldom has one divinity received such numismatic honours from a votary."

Each of the columns has the form of a palm against which leans a youthful sculptured figure like an Atlas.[1]

We have still to consider the reason why Domitian selected Minerva as his patroness. His partiality for her goes back to the period before his accession to the throne, as we learn from his coinage. A reverse type of the *aurei* and *denarii* coined by him as consul in A. D. 79 shows Vesta, draped, hooded, seated l. on throne, holding palladium in extended r. hand and transverse sceptre in l.; the inscription is PRINCEPS IVVENTVTIS.[2] During his consulship in 80 his coins have several reverse types which may indicate his interest in Minerva; one shows the goddess advancing r., brandishing javelin and holding shield;[3] another represents a seated Vesta, holding a palladium in her extended r. hand;[4] a third is described as follows: "A square seat, draped with cloth hanging in folds, with tassels: on it, crested Corinthian helmet."[5] Minerva also appears on Domitian's copper coinage of the years 80—81.[6]

Flavian affection for Minerva, however, does not seem to have been confined to the last ruler of that dynasty. A *denarius* of Titus of the year A. D. 76 shows on the reverse Minerva, helmeted, draped, advancing r., brandishing javelin in r. hand and holding round shield on l. arm: at her feet r., owl."[7] A reverse type of Titus also seems to refer to a 'sellisternium' of Neptune and Minerva,[8] and on the reverse of a *sestertius* of A. D. 72 Titus is depicted holding a congiarium, while in the background is a helmeted statue of Minerva standing on a pedestal and holding an owl (?) in her r. hand and spear in l.[9] Of special interest, however, are the two

1) Cf. Hartwig, "Ein römisches Monument der Kaiserzeit," *Röm. Mitt.*, xix (1904), pp. 23—25 and Paribeni, *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano* (1928), p. 245.

2) Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 46, no. 260 (pl. 8, 3).

3) *Ibid.*, pl. 46, 8.

4) *Ibid.*, pl. 46, 5.

5) *Ibid.*, p. 240, no. 97 (Pl. 46, 12). It is apparently a sellisternium of Minerva.

6) *Ibid.*, pp. 272—276 *passim*.

7) *Ibid.*, p. 101, no. 484 (pl. 17, 14): Mattingly remarks (p. lxvi, n. 4), "Minerva was in a very special sense the child of Jupiter and his vicegerent in heaven: hence her appropriateness as a type of the heir."

8) *Ibid.*, p. 234, no. 71.

9) *Ibid.*, p. 139, no. 629 (pl. 24, 12); of this type Mattingly says (p. l), "The statue of Minerva may suggest the place where the distribution took place — perhaps the temple of Minerva by the senate-house."

following types: one shows Vesta holding a palladium in her extended r. hand,[1] while the other, a *sestertius* of 80—81, shows Roma, helmeted, in military dress, r. foot on globe, standing r.; she is presenting palladium in r. hand to Titus, who sits, togate, on horseback l., extending r. hand to receive it and holding transverse sceptre in l. hand.[2] It would seem that the bestowal of the image of Pallas upon Titus by Roma is symbolic of the fact that he was entrusted with the security and protection of the city and of the empire.

Vespasian, too, on the reverse of a *sestertius* of A. D. 71 is represented, bare-headed, in military dress, standing l., holding vertical spear in l. hand and holding out r. hand to receive a palladium which Victory offers him in her r. hand: Victory is draped and is advancing r., holding palm in l. hand.[3] The goddess is found on two other types of his coinage: one shows her presiding at the burning of captured arms by Pax,[4] while another represents her helmeted, draped, advancing r., preceded by snake, holding palm in r. hand and Victory in l.[5] On the first Mattingly (*op. cit.*, p. xlvi) comments, "It is the arms taken from the defeated enemy that are now burnt, in pursuance of a vow, to Mars, Minerva, and the other gods of war: Minerva herself is sometimes represented watching the scene," and on the other "Minerva Victrix is accompanied by a snake — which suggests a thought of Nemesis, who has overtaken the offenders against the majesty of Rome (*op. cit.*, p. xlvi)."

The obverse types of both Vespasian and Titus afford further evidence, it seems, of a certain association with Minerva; they appear to be under her protection, for they often wear the aegis.[6]

Various reasons have been suggested for Domitian's interest in Minerva: Mattingly's is that Minerva as vicegerent of Jupiter was a fitting type for the heir to the throne;[7] Thiele, on the other hand,

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1) *Ibid.*, p. 264, no. 200 (pl. 50, 7) and p. 295, no. 313 (pl. 58, 1); this was, as we have seen, used by Domitian, and it likewise appears on coins of Julia, the daughter of Titus (p. 247, no. 144; p. 279, no. 256; p. 424, no. 143 bis).

2) *Ibid.*, p. 260, no. 188 (pl. 49, 7).

3) *Ibid.*, p. 126, no. 586 (pl. 23, 1).

4) *Ibid.*, p. 119, no. 553 (pl. 21, 4).

5) *Ibid.*, p. 122 (pl. 22, 4).

6) For coins representing Vespasian wearing the aegis, cf. Mattingly, *op. cit.*, p. 104, 117 n., 121, 122, 181, 187, 188, 191, 194, 182, 185 n., 186 n., 189; for Titus, p. 110, 175, 293, 145, 147.

7) *Op. cit.*, p. lxvi.

thinks that the Flavians perhaps brought with them the cult of Minerva from their Sabine home.[1] Sauter suggests that some unknown personal service by the goddess or the emperor's interest in poetry may account for his devotion to Minerva.[2] The ground, however, for Domitian's adoption of her as his patroness may well be the fact that the palladium seems to have served the Flavians as a symbol of the transmission of the power and eternity of Rome. Victory had bestowed the palladium upon Vespasian, and then Roma had given it to Titus and after him to Domitian. Another influence may also have been the probable desire of Domitian to have a special divinity of his family, just as the Julio-Claudians had had Venus. He seems to have installed Minerva, already honored by his father and brother, in the position which Venus had held with the dynasty that had founded the Empire.

The story of the palladium and also Minerva's position as goddess of war and of the arts must have commended her to the ruler. His naming of a legion in her honor calls to mind that Caligula named two new legions after Fortuna Primigenia, the guardian deity of his father, Germanicus.[3] Besides, Minerva held an important place in the Capitoline Triad, and Domitian was already bound by ties of gratitude to Jupiter Capitolinus, whose shrine had protected him during the civil war in A. D. 69. His whole reign gives ample testimony of his devotion to this Triad, and especially to Minerva, his *familiare numen,* and his last words and glance seems to have constituted an appeal for her aid as he struggled with his assassin before her shrine in his bedroom. His zeal for her may also explain his punishment of some of the Vestal Virgins.

As has been seen, Domitian paid great honor in his coinage to that image of his patron deity, the *palladium,* which was in the

1) "Die Poesie unter Domitian," *Hermes,* li (1916), pp. 242—243: "Eine Bestätigung meiner Vermutung finde ich nicht nur in der negativen Tatsache, daß Minervaverehrung ausserhalb der kapitolinischen Trias in Rom nicht verbreitet war, sondern viel mehr in dem positiven Vorhandensein dieses Kultus in Orvinium bei Reate, der Heimat der Flavier. Anscheinend haben diese den Minervakultus aus ihrer sabinischen Heimat mitgebracht. Wenn das der Fall ist, gehört die Minervaverehrung zu den Traditionen des Flavierhauses, wobei zugegeben werden kann, daß sich bei Domitian diese Verehrung ins Romantische steigerte." Cf. Altheim, *op. cit.,* 1781.

2) *Op. cit.,* 92.

3) Cf. Ritterling, art. "Legio" in *RE.,* 23 Halbbd. (1924), 1246—1247.

keeping of the Vestals. In this connection there is probably significance in his severe treatment of the Vestals. Early in his reign, in 81, 82, or 83,[1] three of these, the sisters Oculata and a certain Varronilla, were condemned by the emperor on the charge of incest. They were allowed to choose the manner of their death, while their lovers were banished.[2] Again, at a later date, probably in 89 or 90,[3] the chief Vestal, Cornelia, who had long before been acquitted, was condemned without a hearing by the emperor and *pontifices* in a meeting at his Alban estate. She was buried alive, protesting her innocence, and her alleged lover, a knight named Celer, was scourged to death, also denying his guilt.[4] It seems probable that Cornelia was guilty,[5] and the fact that she had been condemned after having been acquitted many years before makes it rather likely that she had been freed by Vespasian and Titus, who, we are told, had condoned the incest of Vestal Virgins.[6]

One other feature of Cornelia's case is worthy of mention, namely the exile of Valerius Licinianus. According to Suetonius (*Dom.*, 8) Cornelia's "paramours were flogged to death in the Comitium with the exception of a man of praetorian rank, to whom Domitian granted the indulgence of exile, since he confessed concerning himself at a time when the case was still doubtful and the results of the examination and torture of witnesses was uncertain." But it does not seem that Licinianus had actually been guilty of *incestum* with Cornelia, for he was charged, according to Pliny, "with having

1) Eusebius (ed. Schoene ii, pp. 160—161) in the Armenian version dates the punishment of the three Vestals in the year 2098 a. Abr. (1 Oct., 81 — 30 Sept., 82), while Hieronymus places the event in the following year; cf. Gsell, *Essai sur le règne de l'empereur Domitien* (1894), p. 80, n. 4.

2) Suet., *Dom.*, 8 and Dio, lxvii, 3. Tacitus (*Hist.*, I, 2) mentions the affair in the words "Pollutae caerimoniae, magna adulteria;" probably Statius (*Silv.*, I, i, 35), also refers to it.

3) Cf. Gsell, *op. cit.*, p. 80, no. 9.

4) The case is mentioned by Eusebius, *Chron.* (ed. Schoene, pp. 160) and by Hieronymus (ed. Fotheringham, p. 273). Suetonius (*Dom.*, 8) gives the story in some detail and states that her "lovers" were scourged to death, while Pliny (*Epist.*, IV, 11) in the most complete account speaks only of Celer as receiving this punishment. Juvenal, IV, 8 ff. mentions as one of Cornelia's paramours Crispinus, who, as one high in the emperor's esteem, of course was not involved in the affair.

5) Cf. Henderson, *Five Roman Emperors*, 1927, p. 15.

6) Suet., *Dom.*, 8.

concealed on his estates a freedwoman of Cornelia."[1] He confessed, to the joy of Domitian, who allowed him to take some of his goods and go into exile. Under Nerva Licinianus was allowed to change his banishment to Sicily and was apparently never recalled by Trajan. Twice in his letter concerning the case of Licinianus Pliny speaks of him as guilty of *incestum*,[2] but apparently he had no guilty relations with the Vestal but rather was an accessory after the fact by having concealed her freedwoman, who was doubtless sought by the emperor for questioning.

It was, to be sure, Domitian's duty, as *pontifex maximus*, to punish unchastity on the part of Vestals, but his severity and activity in the matter, where his father and brother had condoned this failing, may have been motivated by his remarkable piety towards the goddess Minerva and by the fact that the Vestals served as custodians of the *palladium*. Philostratus, who makes no mention of Cornelia, refers to the punishment for unchastity of the three Vestals "whom it befitted reverently to minister to Ilian Athena and the eternal fire."[3] This emphasis on their duty to care for the palladium shows that the alleged misconduct was an act of impiety committed against Pallas, the *familiare numen* of the emperor. So overwhelming is the evidence for Domitian's fanatic devotion to the goddess, that it is highly probable that this devotion may have led him to prosecute the Vestals.

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1) *Epist.*, IV, 11: (Domitianus) arripit Licinianum, quod in agris suis occultasset Corneliae libertam. Strachan-Davidson, *Problems of the Roman Criminal Law*, ii (1912), p. 59, rightly, in view of Pliny's statement, says, "A certain Licinianus *was accused as an accomplice* in the incest of a Vestal whom Domitian buried alive."

2) Pliny writes to a friend concerning Licinianus: "Dices tristia at miseranda, dignum tamen illum quia haec ipsa studia *incesti scelere macularit;*" and again: "Et sane putabam te, quia tunc afuisti, nihil aliud de Liciniano audisse quam relegatum ob *incestum*."

3) *Vit. Apoll.*, vii, 6.

CHAPTER XV

THE END OF THE FLAVIAN DYNASTY

Vespasian's advent to the imperial throne had been foreshadowed, according to our sources, by many signs of divine will. It seems that for the most part the phenomena in question are to be considered as propaganda directed by Vespasian or his sympathizers. Once the new dynasty was firmly established there was no further need of heavenly signs, and, logically enough, prodigies which in such profusion attended the rise of the Flavian dynasty ceased abruptly.[1] When, however, the last of the line was murdered in his bedroom in the palace, all manner of omens found their way into the records which have come down to us. There was again need of propaganda, for Domitian stood high in the favor of the troops, was apparently not disliked by ordinary citizens and provincials, and was hated by the Senators alone. In an age of supersitition it would be of practical value to disseminate reports which would show the soldiers and people that what had transpired was willed by the fates. Against Heaven it would be useless to contend, and a belief that the gods had revealed the destiny of the assassinated emperor and that he himself had foreseen his fate would doubtless do much to allay the fury of the soldiery.

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1) There was, however, at one time a serious revolt against Domitian by L. Antonius Saturninus, legate of Upper Germany. When the rebellion was crushed, it is reported that Domitian learned of the success of his arms by signs from heaven before the messengers of victory arrived: an eagle, embracing with its wings the emperor's statue in Rome, uttered most joyous sounds and several people claimed that they had seen the head of Antonius brought in (Suet., *Dom.*, 6). Plutarch, *Aemilius Paulus*, 25 also tells how the people seem to have miraculously sensed the imperial victory. The whole account undoubtedly was circulated after the event as favorable propaganda for the ruler. It would show that Heaven was protecting him against plots. If Antonius had been successful, we should probably hear of omens of disaster for Domitian and success for the legate.

Dreams were regarded as of great significance by the ancients as they are also taken seriously today.[1] Domitian, we are told, was warned by such a medium. His dream that he was deserted by his patron goddess Minerva has already been discussed.[2] Again, he is said to have dreamt that the philosopher Junius Arulenus Rusticus, whom he had put to death, approached him with a sword.[3] Perhaps this alleged dream is to be connected with the story that on one occasion the emperor was so terrified at about midnight that he leaped up from his bed.[4] In another dream he is said to have seen a golden hump grow out on his back and to have interpreted this as a sign that the state would be happier after he was gone.[5]

Suetonius (*Dom.*, 16) reports that Domitian was filled with dire forebodings: On the day before he died he ordered some apples to be set aside for the next day, and then added, "Si modo uti licuerit!" Whereupon he turned to those who were near him and stated that "on the following day the moon would be bloodstained in Aquarius and a deed would be done about which men would speak throughout the entire world." On the day of his death he scratched too hard a wart on his forehead, and when the blood flowed forth he remarked, "Utinam hactenus!" Finally, at the fifth hour, which was the one he feared, he was falsely told that it was the sixth, and he was filled with joy because the danger was past.[6]

Besides the alleged dreams various other signs of divine displeasure are recorded: lightning is said to have struck the temple of Capitoline Jupiter, the temple of the *gens Flavia*, the imperial palace and even the emperor's bedroom. The news of so many strokes within the space of eight months is reported to have drawn from Domitian the cry, "Feriat iam quem volet!"[7] On the day of his death occurred the trial and condemnation of an haruspex who had been sent from Germany under the accusation of inter-

1) In Italy, for example, many people play numbers in the Banca Lotto according to the interpretation of dreams.

2) Cf. above Ch. XIV pp. 180—181.

3) Dio, lxvii, 16.

4) Suet., *Dom.*, 16. Apparently the dream was supposed to have come on the night before his death.

5) Suet., *Dom.*, 23.

6) *Ibid.*, 16.

7) *Ibid.*, 15.

preting these lightning strokes as portending a change of government.[1] This "haruspex" was almost certainly Larginus Proculus, who, according to Dio (lxvii, 16), had publicly proclaimed in Germany the day on which the emperor would die. The governor of the province sent Larginus to Rome, where he was tried and sentenced to die because he repeated his previous assertion. Dio says, however, that the execution was postponed until after the day foretold for the emperor's death, and that thus Larginus escaped peril and later received from Nerva the sum of 400,000 sesterces.

In spite of these stories I do not believe that Domitian was dejected because of lightning stroke or other omens. He had, indeed, reason enough to fear death from conspiracy or rebellion, but on the other hand he could rely with reason upon the support of his troops. Dreams and interpretation of lightning strokes and kindred signs are found frequently in connection with the death of a ruler and may be safely ascribed to propaganda, in which popular superstition also played a helping rôle. Larginus Proculus, had, in my opinion, done something more serious that make predictions. Germany had been the scene of a serious revolt under Antonius Saturninus and was probably still a seat of disaffection. It may well be that Larginus was engaged in seditious activity in the German province, and his reward from Nerva would indicate that he may have been working in the interests of the senatorial party and occupied with something more serious than acting as an *haruspex.*

The omens of disaster were numerous, and most of them patently *post eventum* in character: the famous tree of the Flavian family which had figured as an omen of Vespasian's elevation to the throne now fell down, thus marking the end of the dynasty; in a violent storm the inscription from Domitian's triumphal statue was torn off and cast upon a tomb,[2] an episode which recalls how the violence of a storm similarly foreshadowed the downfall of Mark Antony[3] and how Augustus' death was foretold by the fact that lightning struck the name CAESAR in an inscription on his statue;[4] the Fortuna of Praeneste gave Domitian an unpropitious lot in the

1) *Ibid.*, 16.
2) Suet., *Dom.*, 15.
3) Plutarch, *Ant.*, 60.
4) Suet., *Aug.*, 97.

last year of his life;[1] a few months before his assassination a raven cried from the Capitol: "Ἔσται πάντα καλῶς," which someone interpreted in the following verses:

"Nuper Tarpeio quae sedit culmine cornix
'Est bene' non potuit dicere, dixit: 'erit.'"[2]

The senatorial party, the philosophers, and the astrologers had their turn when Domitian was struck down. It was not superstition alone which produced so many stories tending to show Heaven's displeasure with the prince. Doubtless these reported dreams and signs found belief with many and served to quiet the passions of Domitian's well-paid and devoted soldiery. After all, if it was fated that Domitian die, it was useless to oppose or blame the Fates. Even the wonder-working Apollonius of Tyana appears in the tradition of supernatural events which attended the emperor's death. At the very hour of the assassination the philosopher in the East cried out to the assembled populace: "Well done, Stephanus! Bravo, Stephanus! Strike the bloodstained fellow. You have struck him, you have wounded him, you have slain him."[3]

1) Suet., *Dom.*, 15.
2) Suet., *Dom.*, 23.
3) Dio, lxvii, 18, 1 and Philostratus, *Vita Apoll.*, viii, 26.

CORRIGENDA

P. 1, line 5 read: divine (instead of diviner).
P. 40, last line read: *Baivariae* (instead of *Baiuvariae*).
P. 41, line 21 read: car (instead of ear).
P. 46, line 22: Domitian (instead of Vespasian).

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